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Solid gold peruke of King Mes-kalam-dug.

THE MUSEUM JOURNAL

Vol. XIX

PHILADELPHIA, MARCH, 1928

No. 1

THE ROYAL TOMBS OF UR OF THE CHALDEES

BY C. LEONARD WOOLLEY

THE discovery of royal tombs at Ur of the Chaldees is the outstanding feature of the sixth campaign of the Joint Expedition.

If the report of Mr. C. Leonard Woolley reads somewhat like a story of the Thousand and One Nights, it simply proves that an ancient and sumptuous civilization had foretold in the same land the glory of a Caliph of Baghdad. The work on the cemetery which began on October 17th, under the same staff as last year, ended on January 7th. The work on the Great Courtyard building which followed and will occupy the latter part of the season will be reported in a later number of the JOURNAL.

The complete report on the discovery of the royal tombs will fulfil the promises made in the last number of the MUSEUM JOURNAL. The rich tombs of King Mes-Kalam-Dug and of Queen Shub-ad were found intact. Three other tombs were unfortunately plundered. The tombs were discovered in the following order:

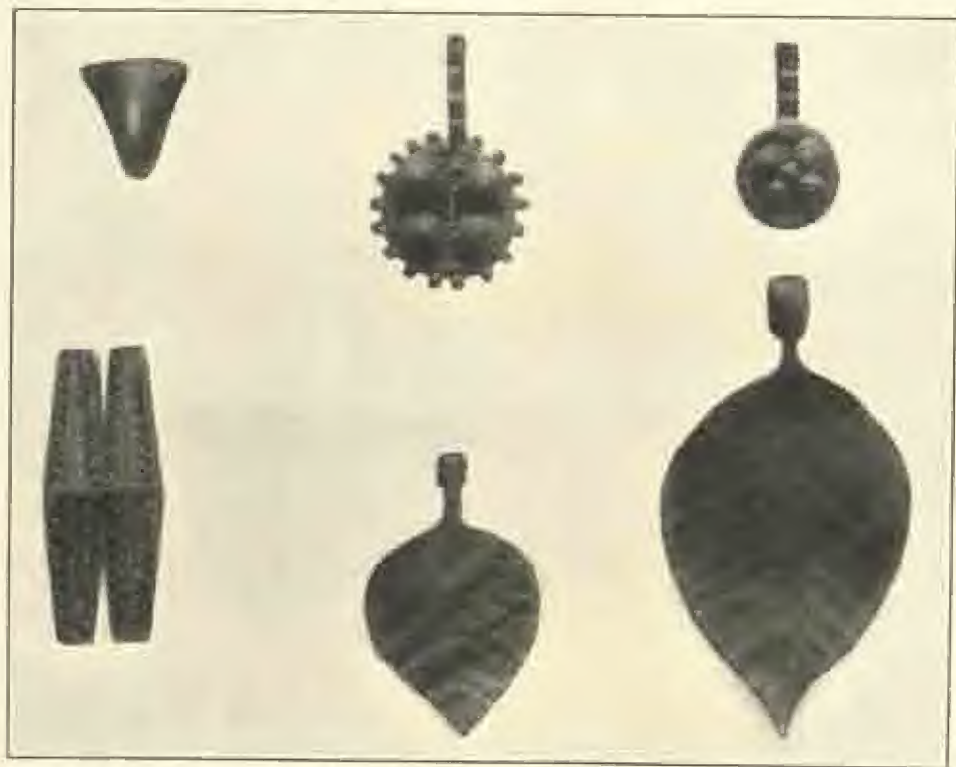
- A. Tomb of Mes-Kalam-Dug.
- B. A plundered two-chamber tomb.
- C. First area or shaft where singers, harp player, chariot, grooms, and furniture were buried over a plundered tomb.
- D. Second area, one metre and a half below, containing fifty-eight bodies placed round the intact vaulted tomb of Queen Shub-ad.
- E. A plundered, stone-vaulted, three-chamber tomb below that of Mes-kalam-dug.

The shaft graves are a remarkable feature which throws a new light on early Sumerian burial customs. The connection between the two large areas and their central tombs is somewhat doubtful. In fact the intact tomb of Queen Shub-ad, while at a slightly lower level, abuts upon the plundered tomb (C). Mr. Woolley is inclined to attribute the queen's tomb to the higher level (C), and the plundered king's tomb to the lower (D) area. His report will make this clearer.

L. L.

RESUMING WORK ON THE CEMETERIES

The first part of our programme was to continue the excavation of the early cemeteries, and a large area adjoining that dug last year was marked out and work begun from the top level, the object being to remove and distinguish carefully between the successive strata. The present flat surface is due partly to denudation and partly to the filling up of hollows in the Third Dynasty and Larsa periods. All the graves below that surface have belonged to two earlier



Gold phallic amulet, gold composite bead, leaves, and pendants from the "dagger" grave.

periods, the Sargonid and the First Dynasty of Ur, and their contents show a marked difference from those of the earliest times discovered last year; the pottery and the metal weapons, etc., are of other types, and although there is a quite obvious continuity of culture, there is equally clear evidence for a long lapse of time between the first and the second periods of the cemetery.

The graves have proved very rich: gold objects have been found every day since work started, the most curious being a gold amulet in the form of a phallus, a very rare thing in this country

where phallic rites were to say the least of it uncommon; also curious are coils of narrow gold ribbon probably twisted round braids of hair and worn across the forehead. The bulk of the gold comes from the grave in which the gold dagger was found last year; its excavation had been left unfinished and was resumed this year. The best object is a composite bead, probably from a tasselled cord, formed of four double conoid beads soldered together and decorated with applied



Seals from the earliest Pre-Dynastic Cemetery.

filigree work exactly like that of the dagger: with this were found hundreds of gold beads and pendants, many of them finely worked, and great quantities of beads in lapis and carnelian; a finger ring of gold cloisonné work set with lapis came to light and is a remarkable specimen of technique.

Quite exceptional are the cylinder seals, of which very many have been found. No previous season has produced anything so fine and the illustrations of a few of them will give an idea of the

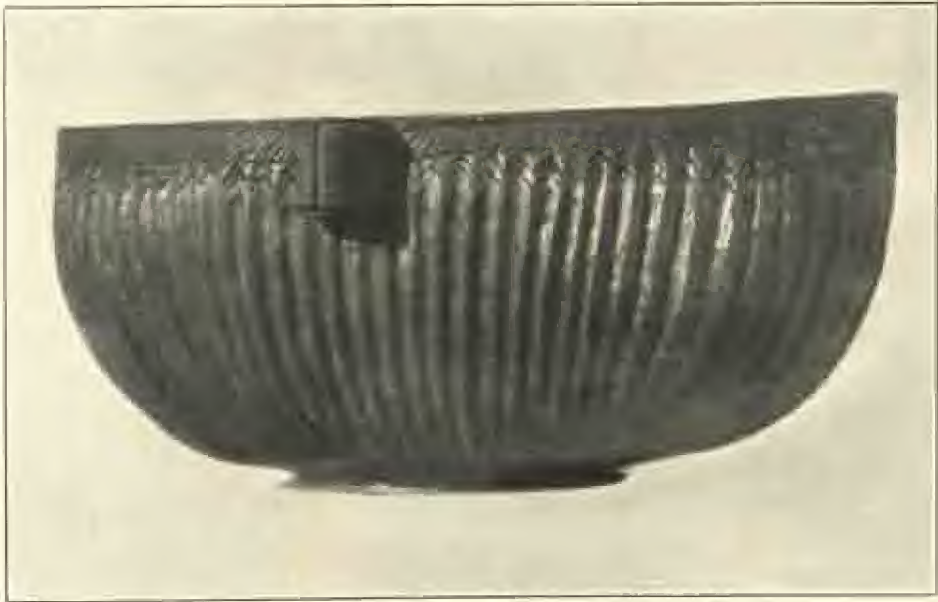


Gold dagger with lapis handle, and gold filigree sheath. Found in the previous campaign, before the discovery of the royal tombs.

quality of the seals of the period. In several cases the gold or copper caps have been preserved and add greatly to the appearance of the stones.

DISCOVERY OF THE GRAVE OF KING MES-KALAM-DUG (A)

The grave is of the normal type, but was signalized by having at its head a spear stuck upright in the soil; the head of the spear is of copper, the shaft plated with gold. Round the wooden coffin were numerous vessels of stone, clay, copper, and silver, and one magnificent bowl of yellow gold richly ornamented with fluting and



Fluted and engraved gold bowl of Mes-kalam-dug.

engraving; the silver vessels include a number of bowls, a lamp, and a libation jug of large size. With these were many weapons, spears, axes, daggers, etc. Of the daggers two had gold hilts and one a silver hilt, the last much perished. Inside the grave was a silver lamp near the feet. On one side of the body were a mass of earrings in gold and silver, a gold pin with lapis head, a wreath of gold mulberry leaves and beads; on the other side a vast number of beads in lapis and gold forming various necklaces, and with them a lapis figure of a ram, another of a frog, and an exquisitely worked miniature figure of a monkey in gold. Near the head were a lamp, an oval boat-shaped bowl, and a hemispherical bowl all of solid gold (or electrum?), each inscribed with the name of the owner.

Mes-Kalam-Dug. Over the head was the most remarkable object yet found in our excavations, a peruke in solid gold, life size, and intended to be worn on the head; the hair is beautifully engraved, there is a bandeau round the forehead, and the headdress descends over the cheeks to the level of the chin, representing whiskers. A two-headed gold axe lay by the shoulder. Beyond all question this is the finest discovery that has yet been made in Mesopotamian archaeology. Among the objects found in the coffin was a silver



Silver libation jug of Mes-kalam-dug.

belt to which were attached a whetstone and a dagger: the whetstone is of lapis lazuli hung on a gold ring, the dagger has a gold blade and a hilt originally of silver ornamented with gold, and the sheath was of silver. The silver has perished (that of the hilt completely so, for it was of thin metal over wood), but it can easily be restored. From a corroded mass of gold and silver earrings, etc., found by the left hand of the body I have extricated an axe of normal type but in gold (or electrum). The corroded lump of metal vases found outside the head of the coffin, which had already yielded the

decorated gold bowl and the silver libation jug, has been separated and has further produced a plain bowl and a drinking cup, both of gold.

THE TWO-CHAMBER PLUNDERED TOMB (B)

At a depth of over six metres from the surface we found what was undoubtedly a royal tomb: it consisted of two chambers at the bottom of a shaft, massively constructed in unhewn stone and roofed also with stone, the roof being a corbelled vault or dome over a wooden centering. The inner chamber, presumably that destined for the king's burial, had been completely rifled and we found in it only scattered bones and a few beads and copper implements. The outer chamber, which was much larger, had also been plundered but not so thoroughly; there had been here three or perhaps four burials, one body being placed in each corner with its feet towards the center; one of these, protected by the fall of the roof, had the gold and silver ornaments of the better class of grave; close by another there was a mass of copper vessels and among them a very fine decorated silver bowl in a good state of preservation. Evidence is accumulating to show that in the very early period a royal funeral was accompanied by the slaughter of a certain number of retainers who were buried with the king. In the middle of this chamber, perhaps left from another burial, there were the remains of an elaborate headdress of gold, silver, and lapis and carnelian beads, rather like a Russian bridal wreath.

FIRST SHAFT GRAVE (C)

The next excavation was that of a grave unique so far in this cemetery. Instead of the usual single burial we have a large trench. The burial pit covers an unusually wide area (40 x 17 feet); the grave itself, which seems to be a vault built with plano-convex brick and stone, was first left untouched, and all our discoveries so far have to do with the wider area of the pit. Apparently after the body was laid in the grave and a certain amount of earth had been put back, the general offerings, etc., were placed in the shaft above the grave. With the offerings were put the bodies of a large number of people who must have been sacrificed in order that they might accompany the king to the next world.

The first object found was a harp elaborately inlaid. The upright, about four feet high, was of wood capped with gold and with a broad gold band at the base and a shoe of bitumen; the keys



Dagger with gold hilt; gold ring; gold pin with lapis head. From the tomb of Mes-kaham-dug.

in it were of copper with gold-plated heads. The edges of the base board were inlaid with a narrow gold beading between two strips of lapis. The sounding box was of wood having round its edges a band of incrustation in shell enriched with lapis and red paint. The far end of the body was encased in silver and ends in a magnificent head of a bullock made of gold with the curls between the ears and the elaborate "false beard" worked in separate bits of carved lapis, while the eyes are of lapis also. There were twelve strings. The front of the sounding board was decorated with big



Bowl of solid gold inscribed with the name of Mes-kalam-dug.

shell plaques engraved with mythological scenes. The woodwork had all perished but can be restored with perfect accuracy, for the inlay had been kept in its place by the soil, and by pouring plaster into the hole left by the decay of the upright we were able to make a cast which preserved the position of the keys; the silver plating of the front of the body is the only serious loss.

Then came thirteen bodies laid in parallel rows except for one which was crouched up against the harp, probably the harpist; two of these were children, the rest women wearing identical head-dresses of gold ribbon, beads, and gold leaves; they had none of the normal funerary furniture. Coming nearer to the middle of the



Dagger with silver hilt. Double headed gold axe, and gold axe of normal type. From the tomb of Mes-kalam-dug.

grave we have found a set of four arrows with large gold heads and shafts bound with gold and silver, a set of four spears with copper heads and gold and silver bound shafts, and others not yet fully excavated. Next was a shallow trench containing the bodies of five men, also without the normal furnishings. Then came a discov-



Gold saw, chisel, spear heads and butt with notch for the throwing thong.

ery astonishingly like Herodotus's account of the burial of Scythian kings; there was a chariot of inlaid wood decorated with small gold heads of oxen and lions, twelve in all, along the top rail, six large lions' heads on each side of the body, these of gold with manes in lapis and shell, two large panthers' heads of silver in the front and

two smaller silver lions' heads on the freeboard. To the chariot were harnessed two asses which wore collars of copper decorated with a large eye pattern; between them was the rein-ring from the pole, of silver, on which was a "mascot" in electrum, the figure of a donkey in the round, a finer piece of realistic animal sculpture even than we get on the wall reliefs of the late Assyrian kings. Three dead grooms lay holding the asses' heads.



Lion's head in gold with mane in lapis and shell; large panthers' heads of silver. From the front board of the chariot.

Near the chariot was a gaming board (not so fine as last year's) complete with its two sets of gaming pieces and dice; of the former one set consisted of seven shell plaques with engraved animal scenes. One set of dice is of shell with lapis dots, the other of lapis with gold dots. Close to this was a wooden box, measuring about 2.99 m. by 0.90 m., decorated along the front with a mosaic in shell and lapis unfortunately quite ruined by the decay of the shell, and with a band of gold inlay; this was empty, and had probably contained clothes. Round the box lay a mass of offerings of all sorts: scattered beads,

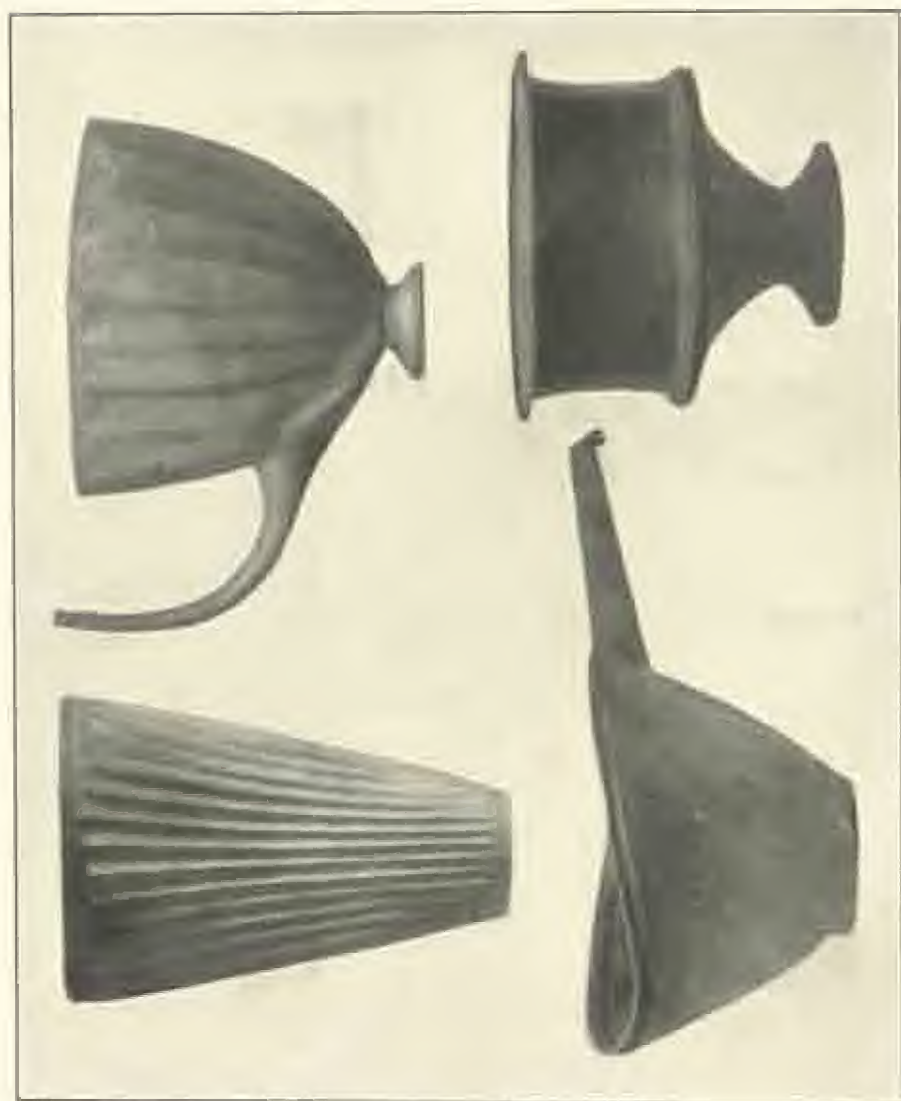
a pair of tweezers and a stiletto in gold, a fine engraved and inscribed lapis cylinder seal, a sceptre in gold and lapis with a silver head, clay vessels, two large silver lions' heads perhaps from a stool, copper vessels and tools, stone vases to the number of thirty or more, including an oval bowl of obsidian, a cup in lapis lazuli, two decorated pots in steatite and a vase in black and white granite, a set of gold chisels, a gold saw, some thirty silver vessels, mostly in good preservation and including many new shapes, and four magnificent gold vases, two of them elaborately decorated with fluting and engraving.



Donkey "masoot" in electrum mounted on the silver rein ring of the chariot.

THE PLUNDERED TOMB (C)

The large grave area had yielded many fine objects but failed to produce the actual tomb and body of the principal person. Among these objects was the wooden chest which I assumed to be a clothes box. When the box was removed there were found below it bricks which proved to come from the arched roof of a stone and brick-built tomb; it had been plundered from above and the box served to conceal the hole made by the plunderers. From the wreckage of

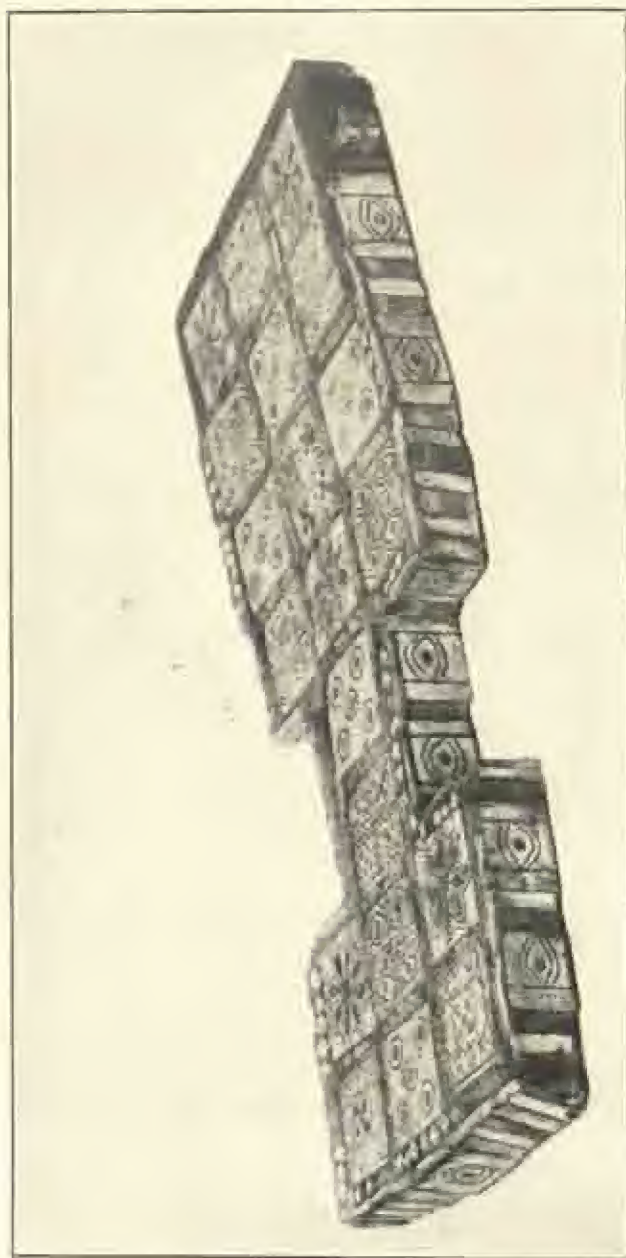


Four gold vessels decorated with fluting and engraving. Found in the first shaft grave (C).

this we recovered a few small gold objects, including a frontlet made of two lengths of gold chain and three large beads, a very fine gaming-board encased in silver, all the shell squares of the face engraved with animal subjects, and a most remarkable model sixty centimetres long of a boat, in silver, complete with oars and awning-support. Much as one must regret the looting of the chamber, this loss is perhaps compensated by the survival of the chamber itself, for it is an extraordinarily interesting architectural monument. The walls are of rough stone built up between caissons with mud mortar; at one point the wall line is broken by a doorway arched with brick. Along the top of the stone wall a single course of bricks was laid, and from this rise the springers of the arches which form the vault. Both door and vault are made with true arches; the bricks are plain, not voussoir-shaped, but fragments of brick or pottery are inserted in the upper part of the joint to secure a radial angle: the vault is simply a succession of such rings. But at the ends of the chamber instead of the arch coming flush against the end wall an apsidal form is produced: the roofing bricks are laid flat, or rather, on a slight and gradually increasing slope, and are stepped out one beyond the other below it, and, starting with a single brick laid across the corner from wall to wall, the angles are rounded off and the square end of the room is transformed into a semicircle whose roof is a half dome, a mixture structurally of true domical building and corbel work. It results that at the date of these tombs, well back in the fourth millennium B.C., the Sumerians were acquainted with the corbel vault, the true arch, and the pendentive dome. The discovery that this is so is perhaps more important than that of any of the objects.

SECOND SHAFT GRAVE AND TOMB OF QUEEN SHUB-AD (D)

Behind the tomb just described there was another chamber built of stone and roofed with brick: constructionally it is not part of the same building but is only abutted on it. This masonry tomb stood at one end of a second large grave area very much like that described above, lying about one and a half metres lower down, and unplundered. In this area were buried fifty-eight persons, all of whom must have been sacrificed to the man buried in the tomb proper. A sloping ramp led down to the bottom of the grave shaft, which had been carpeted and hung with matting; on the slope lay the bodies of the six soldiers of the guard wearing copper helmets and



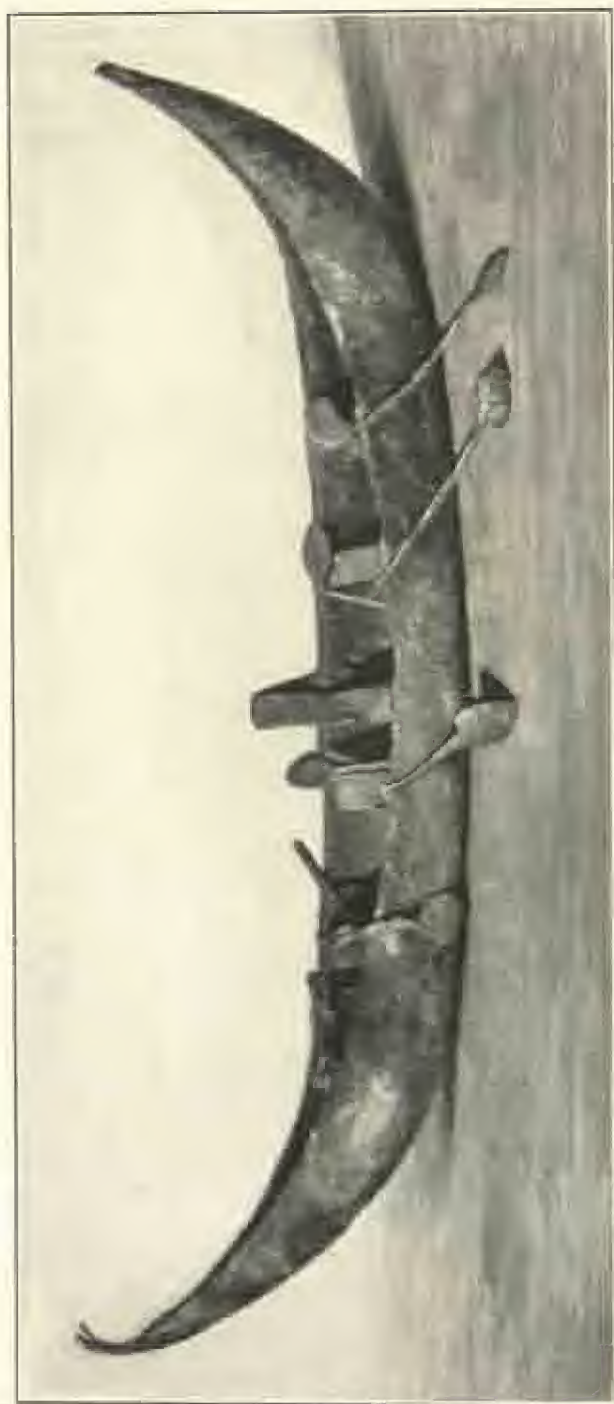
Gaming board made of carved wood, plaques framed in ivory. This fine example was found in last year's excavation.

carrying spears—the skulls, though crushed, have been preserved by us complete with the helmets. At the foot of the ramp were drawn up two heavy wooden four-wheeled carts or chariots each drawn by three oxen wearing silver rings in their noses and broad decorated



Gaming board found in the plundered tomb (C). The engraved skull-squares are encased in silver.

silver collars, attached to poles surmounted by "mascots" in the form of bulls and harnessed with reins made of large silver and lapis beads. The skulls of all these animals and the complete body of one have been preserved. The grooms and drivers were found in their places; one of the former had a dagger with gold decorated hilt.



Silver boat with oars and wing support. Found in the plundered tomb (C).

Against the side of the shaft were two statues of bulls; the bodies, made of wood, had entirely decayed; the head of one was of copper with inlaid eyes, a very fine piece of work in excellent condition; that of the other was of gold and lapis, the head itself being of thin gold over wood, the hair, beard, eyes, and tips of the horns of lapis. The head is badly crushed and distorted, but can easily be restored. Down the chest of each animal ran a series of shell plaques engraved with mythological scenes.

The whole of the rest of the shaft area was littered with bodies. Against the foot of the tomb lay eleven skulls, presumably those of the principal women of the harem, each wearing an identical elaborate headdress consisting of gold ribbon making a sort of net over the hair, a wreath of beads with mulberry leaf pendants, very large gold earrings, and a silver head ornament shaped rather like a hand with at the tip of every point a rosette having inlaid petals of gold, lapis, and shell. The other bodies were less richly adorned, but gave a great number and variety of beads, pins, etc. The present chamber, unplundered, is that of a queen named on her lapis cylinder seal "Shub-ad"; the seal of one of her grooms inscribed "Lugal Shag-pad-da" may identify her husband. I am strongly inclined to believe that her tomb is slightly later in date than the first plundered vaulted tomb (though the floor level is rather lower) and is to be connected with the grave area (C) described above; in fact, I believe that here we have the missing tomb to which that area was an appanage. In that case the plundered tomb is that of the (nameless?) king, her husband. His queen was buried after him but as nearly as might be in the same grave, though with an independent shaft and individual sacrifices.

The tomb of the queen produced a very great number of objects. There are two plain oval gold bowls, one with a wire handle, one fluted gold bowl, and a gold strainer. A pair of cockle shells in gold and another in silver were among the toilet utensils. There were eighteen silver tumblers, fluted and engraved, a silver jug, a silver bowl with a gold drinking-tube and another with the drinking-tube covered with lapis, many silver bowls and saucers, about thirty stone vessels and many in copper. With these was a very finely modelled bull's head in silver, from a statue, with shell plaques on its chest; the wooden body had disappeared.

The body of the queen lay on a wooden bier, almost hidden beneath two huge votive lamps of silver. Round the knees were



Phosphorized form (C) showing a knowledge of the corall vault, the true arch, and the perpendicular change.
 (About 40, C. 3300.)



One of the three men driving the four-wheeled cart. The body is complete with silver ring in the nose, silver reins and collar.

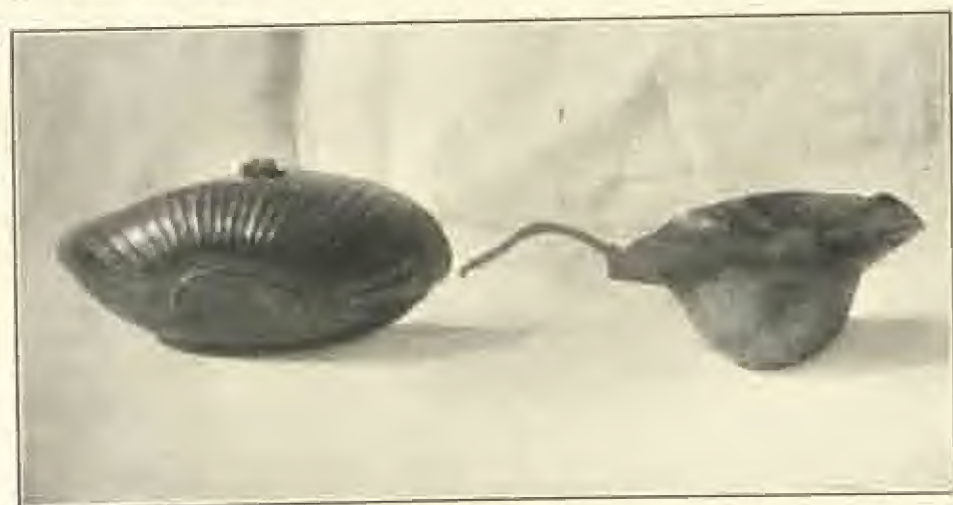
garters of lapis and gold beads; on the hands were ten gold rings, seven with a simple cable design in gold, three inlaid with lapis. The upper part of the body was entirely covered with a mass of beads in gold, lapis, carnelian, and agate, which had formed a beaded cloak fastened over the right shoulder and arm; the beads were of course all loose and much disordered, but the general design of the cloak could be made out and it should not be difficult to reproduce it fairly faithfully. The fastenings were composed of three large



Copper bull's head with inlaid eyes. Found in the second shaft grave (12).

gold pins with lapis heads, to each of which was attached a big lapis cylinder seal; by the fastening, on the right arm, were three amulets in the form of fish, two in gold, one in lapis, a gold amulet in the form of two seated antelopes, and, by the shoulder, one of lapis in the form of a reclining calf hung on big beads of lapis and agate. Round the neck was a "dog-collar" made of gold and lapis triangles and small beads. On the head was an elaborate headdress so large that it could only have been worn over an artificial wig; a broad gold ribbon passed several times round the lower part of the head, in a gentle spiral, and two strands of it passed over the crown to

the nape of the neck; a triple string of beads from which hung large gold rings ran across the forehead; above this was another string with big mulberry leaf pendants of gold; above this again a third string of gold and lapis beads with small drop pendants, long slender gold leaves like willow leaves in sets of three, and gold flowers with inlaid petals of blue and white. From the back of the head rose an ornament rather like a Spanish comb, a pin broadening to a triangle having seven long thin points connected by wires, and at the end of each point a large rosette with inlaid centre; this was also of gold.



Fluted gold bowl and gold strainer. From the tomb of Queen Shub-ad.

This headdress is really an elaboration of that worn by the ladies whose bodies have been found in the sacrificial annex of the two large royal tombs; by the side of the bier was another of a sort hitherto unique. This consisted of a fillet, apparently of thin leather, to which were stitched minute beads of gold and lapis covering the whole surface. Against this background were small gold rosettes, "palmettes" of thin twisted wire, branches of shrubs in gold with gold and carnelian pods or fruit, bunches of pomegranates, three fruit and three leaves, most naturalistically rendered, ears of corn in gold, and four pairs of seated gold animals, stags, rams, antelopes, and bearded bulls. It is a marvellously delicate piece of work.

The earrings actually worn in the ears were spirals of gold wire; in the hair, under the gold ribbon headdress, there were enormous "earrings" with lunate ends, as much as eleven centimetres in diameter; the total weight of the headdress must have been very oppressive.



Queen Slinh-ad's headdress, with beads, gold leaves and flowers, and gold comb, in position in the tomb.

Among objects from other graves I would remark a very beautiful alabaster lamp with a figure of a man-headed bull carved on the side.

PLUNDERED TOMB BELOW THAT OF MES-KALAM-DUG (E)

A patch of limestone rubble had been discovered close to the grave of Mes-Kalam-Dug; digging down below this, more stonework



Queen Shub-ad's gold comb.

was found and it became evident that there was here another royal tomb: the stepped dromos was found, cut in the soil and leading down to a door in the stone wall, the bodies and arms of the soldiers lying at the bottom of the slope; but it was clear that the tomb extended under the unexcavated soil and its clearing would demand considerable labour as the tomb floor lay forty feet below the modern surface and immediately under part of our spoil-heap of last season. A large number of men were employed throughout one whole week and the tomb was finished on the following Saturday evening.

The grave shaft, measuring twelve metres by eight, was entirely occupied by the tomb, which consisted of three parallel chambers all built of rough limestone; it is most interesting for the history of architecture, for the roof is of corbel vaulting, perfectly preserved, and at the end of the chamber takes an apsidal form, the corners of the building being rounded off with rough pendentives to support a half dome; the rest of the roof is barrel-shaped. Judging from its position—it lies below the grave of Mes-Kalam-Dug—it is one of the earliest we have yet found, and while it must be one of the first instances of real building in stone its builders were acquainted with



Gold stags, rams, antelopes, and bearded bulls, ornaments of Queen Shub-ad's dress.

such complicated forms of architecture as the vault and the dome. I estimated that over four hundred cubic feet of stone were used in the building, all imported stone, probably from the Gebel Sinam, south of Zobeir, a distance of 110 miles as the crow flies. The central chamber was divided into two parts, the inner of which had probably contained the king's body; in this and in each of the side chambers there was a shallow rectangular depression in the cement floor the size of a coffin, and at each corner of it a round hole as if for the supports of a canopy. The walls and roof had been plastered with a smooth coating of lime cement, and the floors were of the same. The roofs, of which in each case the apsidal northeast end was well preserved, stood two metres high. It is the finest of the built tombs yet found by us.

Unfortunately it had been plundered, and that probably not long after the burial, for the robbers had thought it worth their while to remove objects of every class, whereas had any very long period elapsed the copper and silver vessels would have been so far decayed as not to merit removal. We found only what the thieves had dropped or overlooked. A small gold cup of thin metal a good deal distorted by the fall of the roof was found in the third chamber; in the central chamber were two curious objects, imitation ostrich egg shells, one in silver and one in gold, the former crushed and in bad condition, the latter scarcely dented; both had been encrusted



Alabaster lamp, with a figure of a man-headed bull carved on the side.

with shell, lapis, and red stone set in bitumen, and the decoration, which had fallen away, I have been able in the case of the gold shell to replace in its original form. There were several real shells similarly incrustated, but these were very badly broken up. The third chamber produced part of a gaming board made of shell plaques framed in lapis and set in silver; it is only a fragment, but the engraving on the plaques is very good; these have been re-set for the most part in their original order. With them were found some of the "men" also engraved. In a corner of the same chamber, against a human skull entirely covered with minute lapis beads lay an object which is perhaps the most important that we have yet found. It is best described as a stela, made of wood, fifty centimetres long and twenty centimetres high and about four centimetres



The plundered three-chamber tomb. The earliest and finest vaulted tomb.

thick; both sides and the ends are covered with mosaic. On each side there are three registers divided and bordered by a minute diamond pattern in white, red, and blue; each register has a row of human or animal figures silhouetted in white shell against a lapis lazuli background, the internal details of the figures being rendered by engraved lines filled in with black or by red inlay. The subject on one side is the Sumerian army on the march, footsoldiers and chariots; on the other side there is a banquet scene, the king and his family seated in the top register, in the others, servants bringing



Gold ostrich egg-shell incrustated with shell, lapis, and red stone.

the materials for the feast, driving up cattle, carrying fish and so on. I regret that I cannot send photographs of this remarkable piece. As it lay in the ground the upper face (the army scene) was almost intact and only at one end of the middle register had the mosaic been seriously displaced by a stone which had been forced through it (the wood had of course decayed away and there was nothing to keep the tesserae in position). This face had to be waxed and bandaged bit by bit as it was exposed. The lower face had suffered more severely, and part of it came away with the front panel; this can of course easily be replaced and the whole can be restored.

but the work is such as should not be attempted under field conditions. But I see no reason why the stela should not be turned out in perfect condition, and in general interest it will, I think, rank above any Sumerian antiquity known.

The prophecy made by Mr. Woolley of a successful season and of discoveries "which will eclipse those already made" has been realized.

THE GEORGE BYRON GORDON MEMORIAL COLLECTION

BY HELEN E. FERNALD

MR. ELDRIDGE R. JOHNSON has recently presented to the Museum in memory of Dr. George Byron Gordon, its late Director, a magnificent collection of Chinese carvings in jade, lapis lazuli, and coral, a large crystal sphere of international fame, and a number of other Chinese works of art of great interest and value. The collection is now on exhibition at the entrance to Charles Custis Harrison Hall.

It is fitting that the Chinese collections should contain this memorial. For the Chinese Section was always Dr. Gordon's special pride and delight; it was he who launched it in its unpretentious beginnings, who recognized the greatness of this Oriental art at a time when it was but little known and less understood; he who had foresight enough to secure some of the finest of its treasures while the field was still new and comparatively unappreciated in the West. Here may be seen demonstrated as perhaps nowhere else to such an extent, the Director's great gift of æsthetic appreciation, that instinctive feeling for the very best which he had developed to an unusual degree, and his genius for installation.

Dr. Gordon began the collection modestly with the acquisition in 1913 of a group of small bronzes, blue and white porcelains, and celadons. Only the last are still on exhibition, the others having been stored to make room for the better ones purchased later. 1914 was marked by the acquisition of a really great piece, the pottery Lohan, and a number of splendid stone sculptures. These works of art established the importance of the collection and from this time on each year saw some notable addition to the section.

During 1916 the famous Hsiang T'ang Cave sculpture and the well known Wei and T'ang pedestals were acquired. In 1917 and 1918 the collections were enlarged by the addition of a number of remarkable works, the great stone Maitreya, the gilt bronze one, the two colossal Bodhisattva heads and the three beautiful pieces of Chün Yao Sung pottery. With the acquisition in 1920 of the two stone bas reliefs of the Horses of the Emperor T'ang T'ai Tsung—

another gift, by the way, of Mr. Eldridge R. Johnson—the Museum attained a position unequalled in Europe or America for its early Chinese sculpture.

A collection of such growing fame could not afford to rest upon its laurels. Dr. Gordon's great talents were turned to making it constantly better and more comprehensive. Every piece must stand the most rigid tests of beauty no matter what its historical interest or value might be. In 1922 he added a fine votive stela to the group of early sculpture and, most exquisite of all, the gilt bronze Kuan Yin with green patina. A year or two more saw the acquisition of the pair of seated stone lions and the colossal wooden statue of a seated Bodhisattva. Finally, only a few months before his death, he had secured a pair of great stone chimæras from an early tomb and a colossal wall painting from a Chinese temple the like of which has never been known before, either outside of China or in it. Thus Dr. Gordon left behind him as a monument to his foresight and artistic appreciation a collection of Chinese art which has hardly an equal in the field of early sculptures and frescoes. That this collection ranks today as one of the greatest in the world is due to Dr. Gordon's unerring judgment in selection and to the generosity of those who had faith in that judgment, who loved the art of the Orient, and who felt a pride in the collection that in so short a time had, with their help, reached such notable rank. What more appropriate than that a group of objects belonging to the last art period of China—and one hitherto unrepresented in the collections—should bear the name of him who first began those Oriental collections and raised them to such heights; or what more fitting than that the donor should be one whose name was already connected with some of the outstanding works of art in the collections.

The memorial consists of twenty-eight objects of Chinese art, the most notable of which are the eighteenth century carvings from the workshops of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung and the fascinating crystal ball said to have been once the treasure of the Empress Dowager of China. Included in the collection are a fine bronze tripod and a Chinese painting of the Ming dynasty. A group of interesting ritualistic objects of early jade types completes the collection and may serve as the subject of a special study later on.

The following reproductions give some idea of the rich beauty of material contained in the Gordon Memorial and of the exquisite workmanship involved. Unfortunately they cannot convey the full

glory of the colour nor the unctuous quality of texture for which these masterpieces of late Chinese art are noted.

The Chinese have always had an intense love of jade and a peculiar reverence for it: to them it was the gem par excellence, something extremely precious, full of beauty and virtue. The word indeed was almost a synonym for beauty, a beautiful woman was often described by the term "a woman of jade," and to say of a man that his "countenance was like jade" was to pay him the highest compliment. In very ancient times ritualistic objects were made of jade to be used in the worship of the cosmic deities of Heaven, Earth, and the four cardinal points. Badges of office and symbols of rank were made of this stone, symbolic carvings of it formed the pendants of the girdle ornament which every gentleman wore, and at least six jade objects of symbolic significance surrounded and protected the body in the coffin. The pieces used in ancient ritual relied upon form and intrinsic beauty of material for their effect, being always simple in shape and unadorned, for, as the ancient Chinese said, "Acts of the greatest reverence admit of no ornament."

However, as the art of sculpture and especially that of painting developed in China the influence of the pictorial began to be felt in other fields, and artists made carvings in jade for the purpose of ornament alone. Thus a new class of objects came into being founded upon love of artistic design rather than religious symbolism, though the subjects represented were frequently taken from Buddhist or Taoist lore. In the eighteenth century, just about two hundred years ago, a tremendous renaissance of art took place under the enthusiastic patronage of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, and the Chinese lapidary came into his own. No one has ever surpassed him in taste or skill. He revelled in the richest of materials and fashioned them into palace ornaments of amazing beauty. The Emperor Ch'ien Lung himself wrote poems to be engraved on some of the finest pieces. From the eighteenth century to the present day not only jade of all colours but other hard stones of semiprecious nature have been utilized by clever hands, malachite, rose quartz, lapis lazuli, agate, marble, crystal, and coral.

In the olden days jade was indigenous to China. The ancient ritualistic and tomb objects were made from boulders found in the river beds of Shensi, Ssü-ch'üan and Honan and from slabs quarried in the mountains near Ch'ang-an, the ancient capital. These objects are now rather opaque owing to burial, of dull tans and greens, ivory

whites, yellows in all shades of ochre, and ash colour, or a rich dark brown which the Chinese have been fond of declaring was due to blood stains from the corpse, an unfounded but pleasantly gruesome statement. About the first century A.D. the supply of native jade began to run low and it was imported in ever increasing quantities from Khotan and other places in what is now Chinese Turkistan. By the tenth century the native supply seems to have been completely exhausted and jade is not now found in the soil of China. Turkistan continued to quarry huge quantities of jade, however. In the K'un Lun mountains behind Khotan are rivers still known as the Black Jade River (the Karakash), the White Jade River (the Yurungkash), and the Green Jade River (probably the Yangi Darya). Indeed, the quarries there were not deserted until 1852, during a Mohammedan revolt against Chinese rule. The jades from Turkistan were of various hues, gray green, or celadon, white (mutton fat), black, brown, reddish brown, yellow. Many of them have yellow and brown spots, due to a penetration of oxide of iron. Some of the greens are very rich. That Ch'ien Lung used great quantities of Chinese Turkistan jade we can read in the records. We are told that in 1764, the 29th year of his reign, the governor of Yarkand sent him thirty-nine huge slabs of jade to use for making musical stones—the total weight of the slabs amounting to 5300 pounds.

The Chinese name for jade is *yü*. Our term jade comes from the Spanish "*piedra de Hijada*" or "stone of the loin," so called because it was supposed to have medicinal virtues in troubles of the kidneys. The word jade did not occur in our language until its introduction into England by Sir Walter Raleigh in the 16th century.

There are two kinds of *yü* or jade recognized by geologists, nephrite and jadeite. The old jades of China which we have so far mentioned were all nephrites (silicates of calcium and magnesium). Ch'ien Lung had, however, another field to draw upon for his jades, one first discovered in the thirteenth century—Burma. The Burmese mines are the chief source of jade today. The jade quarried there is of the type called jadeite (silicates of sodium and aluminium), harder, more granular, and more translucent than the nephrites and of a brilliant apple or emerald green. This is the famous *fei ts'ui* jade of commerce. Some of the most beautiful of the pieces in this collection are made of this *fei ts'ui*. The fresh tender green colour is due to infiltration of chromium. Pure jadeite is a stainless white.

Lapis lazuli, or azure stone, has been found in China, Tibet, and Persia, but the best known mines are in Badakshan in the valley of the Kokcha River, a tributary of the Oxus. These mines were in operation in the thirteenth century, for Marco Polo visited them in 1271. It is probable that Ch'ien Lung obtained his supplies from this locality and perhaps from a region in Siberia near the western end of Lake Baikal. The stone is very opaque—and comparatively soft. Crystal, on the other hand, is extremely hard. It is a colourless, transparent variety of quartz, limpid, and cold to the touch. In fact, the name crystal comes from the Greek word meaning ice, given it in the belief that it was water which had been exposed to extreme cold. The source of Chinese rock crystal was India.

It is a well known fact that the most beautiful of the eighteenth century works of art, including carvings in jade and other stones, were looted from the Imperial Summer Palace, the Yüan Ming Yüan near Peking, during the T'ai-p'ing rebellion of 1849 to 1864, and especially after the Anglo-French occupation of Peking in 1860. There is no doubt that many of the most priceless objects were at that time wantonly destroyed. Many, however, escaped harm and made their way to Europe or into private collections in China. These pieces can no longer be in every case identified with certainty but their exquisite workmanship, their beauty and grace of composition, and the princely value of the material leave little doubt as to their origin. The Gordon Memorial contains several of the most beautiful examples known.

CRYSTAL[®] SPHERE

The sphere of rock crystal given by Mr. Johnson in memory of Dr. Gordon is one of the most beautiful and perfect known, there being, in fact, very few others in the world which can compare with it in size, flawlessness of material, or perfection of craftsmanship. The ball has been fashioned out of a very large, clear, silvery white crystal, is ten inches in diameter, and weighs about fifty pounds.

A sphere such as this is a triumph of skill and patience, as the Chinese had no machinery and only the simplest of tools. It represents years of painstaking work with emery and garnet powder and water, while the ball is kept constantly revolving in a semi-cylindrical iron vessel of the size to which it is to be ground.

This sphere may have been fashioned in the Ch'ien Lung Period when the love of such ornaments became a passion in imperial circles. At any rate it became well known during the nineteenth century, and has been popularly spoken of as "The Dowager Empress" because it was one of the treasures of the Imperial Palace, said to be greatly loved by the Empress Tz'ü Hsi. It is the second largest crystal ball in existence, so far as may be ascertained.

Crystal spheres were employed in the west for "screying" or crystal gazing, but apparently the Chinese never used such balls as these for that purpose. They were merely exquisite ornaments for the palace. They were mounted usually on silver stands which sometimes represented dragons. This one has a stand of silver representing a wave breaking into foam, on the crest of which the sphere floats like a limpid bubble. From some angles the ball appears to have a silver ring around it and at such times it seems suddenly strange, a thing of elfin beauty almost uncanny. In its clear depths is held all the magic mystery of captured moonlight, all the fascination of familiar things transformed and ethereal.



Crystal Sphere.
Diameter, 10 inches.

TABLE SCREEN OF GREEN JADE

This is one of a pair of exquisite green jade table screens purporting to have been carved in the Imperial workshops of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung. It is made of a slab of jade about nine inches square, cut so thin as to be translucent, and the deliciously fresh emerald green colour it exhibits with the light behind it delights artist and layman alike. It is unusual in containing some cloudings of pale lavender also, and near the edges at top and bottom a tinge of amber yellow. Against the light the little figures cut in low relief appear rich and dark like the pattern of a cut velvet.

The scene represented on the front of this illustrates a subject of Taoist lore which is a great favorite in China, the eight Immortals gathered in a landscape to pay homage to Shou Lao, the God of Longevity. On the bank of a stream are assembled seven of the Immortals, Lan T'ai-ho with her basket of flowers on her back, Lü Tung-pin with his sword and a tassel hanging from it appearing over his shoulder, and Ho Hsien Ku, patroness of housewives, with an enormous flower on a long stem. Chang Kuo Lao, patron of artists, appears with his queer Taoist bamboo musical instrument, next to him is Chung-li Ch'uan the fat man with bare stomach and a fan, then Han Hsiang-tsü with his flute and Li T'ieh-Kuai hobbling on a crutch and holding up his pilgrim's gourd out of which streams a funnel of light. The eighth Immortal, T'sao Kuo-ch'ün, is seen crossing the stream on a cloud merrily playing his castanets. Above, in the clouds, may be seen Shou Lao, the god with the high skull, surrounded by emblems of immortality and attendants with such emblems.



Green Jade Table Screen: One of a Pair.
Height, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches: Width, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

BACK OF THE SCREEN

The carving on the reverse is seen to be of quite different character, a pictorial design of phoenix bird, peony tree and rocks, all done in very low flat relief. At the upper left is engraved this short beautifully written poem:

"On the tops of pine trees one hundred feet tall,
Layer upon layer their shadows are hanging—
Although we are unable to see the Plum River moving.
Indeed we enjoy being together with a group of immortals.
(Signed) Ch'ien Lung Imperial Autograph."

The characters are inlaid with gold. The beauties of the jade itself, its fresh green with soft lavender cloudings, may be understood better from this picture of the back than from that of the front where the more sharply cut relief somewhat obscures the material.



Reverse of the Green Jade Screen.
With Autograph Poem by Ch'ien Lung.

TABLE SCREEN OF GREEN JADE

The second one of this pair of exquisite jade screens is the same as the first in size and material, indeed it seems to have been made out of a piece of jade contiguous to the other, the cloudings and veinings corresponding exactly but reversed for the carving. The scene carved on the front, the meeting of the Eight Immortals and Shou Lao, seems at first glance also to be identical with the other but reversed. It varies only in certain minor details.

The emblems on these carvings are all symbols of long life. The nine personages figured, some mythical, others historical in origin, are all supposed to have obtained immortality in some strange manner. The pine tree, the deer, the crane, the peach and the lung chih fungus are all symbols of longevity. It was a favorite subject with the Chinese.

The artistic quality of these pieces is very high. The composition of the obverse in each is quaint and decorative; the variety in depth of relief as a means of suggesting perspective affords richness in colour as well, and the cutting of the little figures and their accessories is done with taste and charm.



Green Jade Table Screen: Other of the Pair.
Height, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches; Width, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

REVERSE OF THE SECOND SCREEN

The reverse of this screen bears a design similar to but not identical with the reverse of its companion. The poem engraved in the upper left corner reads as follows:

"In the bluish green rays of the inclined sun
The graceful clouds are sailing by the home of immortals.
Glorious happiness is in the Nan-hsiang society.
I wish you an eyebrow-longevity of ten thousand years.
(Signed) Ch'ien Lung Imperial Autograph."

Here, likewise, the characters are delicately inlaid with gold. An "eyebrow-longevity" in Chinese means an extremely long life. The wish here expressed reveals the probability that this pair of screens was made for a birthday gift from the Emperor to a friend.



Reverse of the Second Green Jade Table Screen.
With Autograph Poem by Ch'ien Lung.

LADY WITH A DEER

This carving and its companion piece are made of an unctuous granular gray jade with a vein of brilliant leaf green and a streak of amber brown. Under the Emperor Ch'ien Lung of the eighteenth century it was quite the fashion to give presents of precious jade, and thereafter such imperial gifts as these were bestowed upon occasions when congratulations were in order, such as a betrothal, a marriage, the birth of a grandson, or the appointment of a prince to high office. It seems likely that these two are marriage gifts. This one represents a slender female figure standing by a pine tree which curves up on the right. The figure bends gracefully toward the tree. By her side, on the left, is a deer with the ling chih, fungus of immortality, in its mouth. The figure holds a scroll and a ju-i sceptre while from the rocks at her feet spring more fungi. The carver has exhibited great ingenuity in making use of the natural veins of colour in his piece of jade and has so contrived as to bring the streak of brown into his ground and tree trunk and has utilized the bright green veins for ornaments of dress. Such carvings as this were often of a subject involving a rebus, or pun, which was actually an indirect equivalent of such an expression as our "good luck and best wishes." The fungus ling chih suggests *ling*, "high age"; the name for deer is *lu*, calling to mind another *lu* which means "prosperity"; the *ju-i* sceptre is equivalent to good wishes because the phrase *ju-i* means "as you wish" or, "may your desires be fulfilled." The pine tree is a symbol of longevity. To the unsuspecting the object is merely a beautiful jade carving. To those who can read its meaning it says, "Wishing you long life, prosperity, and the attainment of your desires."



Lady with a Dove.
Green and White Jade. Height, 8½ inches.

23798

LADY WITH A PARROT

This, the companion piece to the Lady with a Deer, is of similar material and was probably cut from a piece of jade contiguous to the other. The scheme of composition is much the same. Curving up at the right is a peach tree loaded with fruit. A young woman stands beside it bending gracefully toward a huge parrot on the left which is turning its head to look up at her. Her hands hold branches with peaches on them and from the rocks below rise bunches of the sacred fungus. Again, as in the other piece, the amber brown streak has been cleverly utilized so that the trunk of the tree comes in the brown vein while peach branches, fruit and dress ornaments are carved out of the green streaks and veins in the jade.

In this case also a rebis may be read. The peach tree is allegorical of a happy marriage because it recalls a well known poem in the "Odes" in which a bride is likened to a graceful peach tree. The parrot, thanks to a famous anecdote about it, has become a symbol of warning to wives to be faithful to their husbands. The peach itself and the ling chih fungus are both symbols of longevity. Thus the carving may be read, "May you live long, have happiness in wedded life, and always be a faithful wife."

These carvings rest upon old carved ivory plaques themselves of rare size and beauty, the ivory having aged to a warm toasted brown and cream tone and acquired a most pleasing texture. The ivory plaques are in turn supported upon stands of carved teakwood.



Lady with a Parrot,
Green and White Jade. Height, 8½ inches.

STATUETTE OF KUAN YIN

Few jade carvings are comparable to this in size, for it is twenty-six inches in height and carved out of one enormous block of jade. The jade is a glorious gray green running to a brilliant leaf green in places and has cloudings of a pinkish gray and frequent spots of yellow brown, like rust, these last being due to oxide of iron. It is a truly regal piece, full of quiet dignity and simple poise. Kuan Yin, Buddhist goddess of mercy, stands with eyes downcast, a dreamy expression on her face, her mantle drawn together in front where the right hand is visible holding a rosary. The drapery is arranged in simple, rather flat folds, the ends flaring out above the ankles as if in a faint breeze. The goddess wears a crown and a short shoulder cape with a hood, the latter being drawn up behind over the back of the crown to lie in two heavy folds on top of the head. It is a beautiful example of modern work.



Statuette of Kuan Yin.
Gray Green Jade. Height, 26 inches.

LADY WITH A HARE

A carving in the same style as the two marriage gifts but probably of more recent execution. The jade is white with a greenish tinge which becomes concentrated in certain areas into a brilliant green. The structure appears very granular and where the carving is thin, as in edges of folds or margins of leaves, the translucency is quite marked. The subject is that of a young woman holding a hare on her left hand while waving a spray of foliage and fruit above the little creature. The two trees rising behind her appear to be banana trees and the fruit the lady holds may be a bunch of young bananas. The hare was a symbol of the moon and often figures in Taoist lore as pounding the elixir of immortality in a mortar or held in the arms of a genie or fairy of the moon.



Lady with a Hare.
Green and White Jade. Height, 14 inches.

IMPERIAL TABLE SCREEN OF LAPIS LAZULI

One of the richest materials used by the Ch'ien Lung artists for their carvings was lapis lazuli. The Gordon Memorial Collection is fortunate in possessing a pair of very fine screens from the Imperial workshops. These palace pieces are oblong slabs of the glorious blue stone nine and three-quarters inches high, six inches wide and one-half inch in thickness. The front in each case is carved with a pictorial design representing a sage with two attendants climbing a mountain beside a rushing stream while high above on a ledge of rocks appears a tiny mountain pavilion. The scene is carved in low relief with great simplicity of line and plane which is heightened by the richer detail of the foliage of a few trees. The scenes on the two screens are not identical but are variations of the same subject and balance each other. The backs show a smoothly polished surface, engraved in each case with an original literary composition by the Emperor copied from his own handwriting. The translation is as follows:

"Exactly for the whole day we listen to the mango-bird crying.
Over the Tan Chang pavilion the disorderly leaves of red
almonds are spreading
In the wide river the night-rain falls and the tide begins to grow.
Far over the islet the mist and grass become green again.
(Signed) Ch'ien Lung Imperial Made."



Lapis Lazuli Table Screen: One of a Pair.
With Autograph Poem by Ch'ien Lung on the Back. Height, 91 inches.

IMPERIAL TABLE SCREEN OF LAPIS LAZULI

This is the companion to the preceding, varying from it only in the arrangement of the mountain scene on the front and the literary composition on the back. The poem on the reverse of this reads as follows:

"Facing towards the south-west my eyes look at the sky of a thousand Li.

Thinking about the present and past, I feel small and sad.

Green pine trees carry our sight far into the fair and white clouds.

Like a piece of floss silk are the boundless flat mountains in layers.

(Signed) Ch'ien Lung Imperial Made."



Lapis Lazuli Table Screen: Other of the Pair.
With Autograph Poem by Ch'ien Lung on the Back. Height, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

VASE OF LAPIS LAZULI

This vase is fashioned out of a huge block of the precious material and measures eleven inches in height without its carved ebony stand. The blue is somewhat lighter than that of the two screens and the stone is shot with veins of dull green and cream and full of specks of iron-pyrites looking like gold dust sprinkled through it. In form the vase is cut to represent a section of rustic tree stump upon which appear, carved in fairly high relief, rocks, branches of a gnarled and crooked maple tree, and foliage, vines, and flowers. The arrangement is naturalistic, the rocks rising at the foot of the vase and the tree growing out of them. The trunk of the maple throws its bold angles across the body of the vase and raises its branches into clumps of foliage around the top. The sacred fungus, symbol of longevity, and chrysanthemum flowers, symbol of autumn, grow upon the rocks. Around the branches twine vines whose leaves and tendrils hang from the top of the vase like ends of rope among the maple foliage. The magnificent proportion and design of this vase suggest that it, too, is a product of the Imperial workshops of Ch'ien Lung.



Vase of Lapis Lazuli.
Height, 11 inches.

A FAIRY ON A PHOENIX

This odd and delicately beautiful carving in coral represents a slim sweet-faced Taoist fairy standing on the back of a great phoenix bird. The artist who saw in an awkward piece of branching pink coral this charming and unusual bit of fancy was deserving of the honour of carving an imperial piece. For this and its companion carving, the fairy on a dragon, claim to be from the Imperial collection. However that may be, the simplicity of the composition and the restraint and refinement of design place this piece far above the majority of such carvings. The little figure is full of dignity and grace and the decorative phoenix with its conventionalized plumage is a fitting accompaniment. The phoenix, it must be remembered, was the symbol of the Empress. The collar of leaves worn by the sylph indicates—as if there were any necessity!—that she is not a mortal.



A Fairy on a Phoenix.
Pink Coral. Height, 18½ inches.

A FAIRY ON A DRAGON

The companion carving of the pink coral fairy on a phoenix is this sylphlike figure riding on a royal five-clawed dragon, the symbol of the Emperor. The same ingenuity shown in transforming a rough branch of coral into a figure of quaint grace and refinement is found here also. The figure is extremely elongated and the dragon more realistically treated than is the phoenix in the other case. This fairy wears not only a cape but a girdle of leaves as well and holds above her head a branch of flowering peony, a huge blossom of which sticks out above her high-dressed hair. The peculiar appendage at her shoulder is a mass of her long hair flying in the breeze.

The height of this pair of carvings is rather unusual, each measuring over eighteen inches.

The peculiarly elongated character of these pieces has its origin in no "modern" effort to be original but simply arose out of the nature of the material of which they are made. Their somewhat fantastic beauty is partly the result of chance and the desire to use a certain awkward branching of the coral to carry out a necessary element of anatomy or some accessory.



A Fairy on a Dragon.
Pink Coral. Height, 18½ inches.

A FAIRY WITH FLOWERS

This coral carving is rather more ornate than the others and is doubtless of recent manufacture. It represents a female figure seated on a rock over which grow clusters of the ling chih fungus. The body is twisted sideways from the hips and on her left arm she holds a huge pot with a veritable tree growing in it—a peony tree loaded with heavy waxlike blossoms. Behind her there grows up from the rock another peony tree which twists at her waist, winds up over her shoulder, and rises high above her head in a profusion of great flowers. At her feet is a tiny barking Fu Dog.

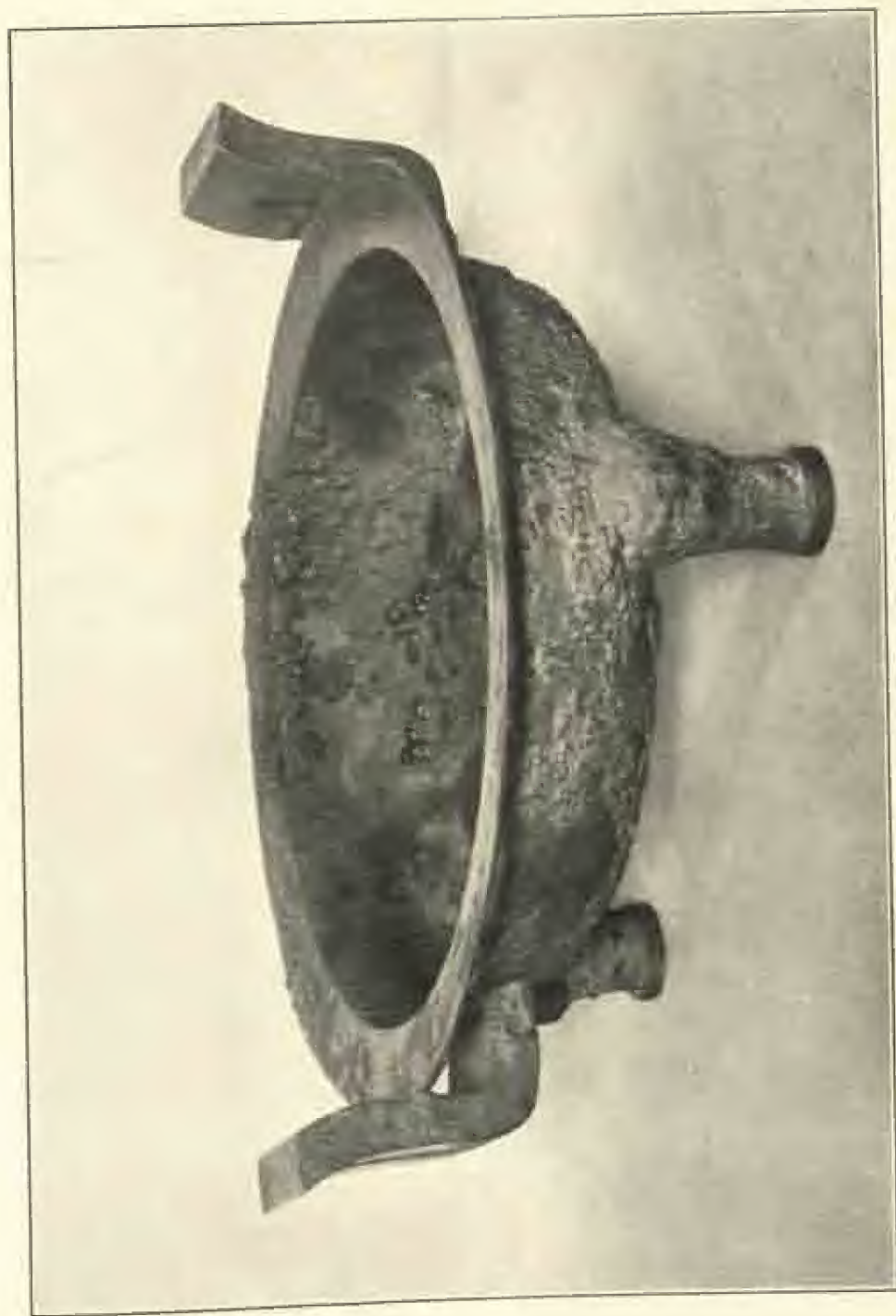
There are passages of much beauty in this carving. The line of the arm holding the flower pot as seen from the back is exquisitely beautiful, and some of the flowers are carved with such power that one can almost smell the heavy perfume. The colour of the coral, a rich pink, is very striking.



A Fairy with Flowers.
Deep Pink Coral. Height, 11 inches.

BRONZE TRIPOD

An unusually large specimen of great dignity in line and proportion. In China ancient bronze vessels were often among a family's most treasured heirlooms, passed down from father to son for many generations. Some have thus been in Chinese households for many centuries, others have been recovered from early tombs. In recent years, during the building of various lines of railroad, many which had been buried in the earth have come to light, especially in Honan and Shensi provinces. It is not known from what locality this vessel comes. It is a wide shallow bowl raised on three short hollow legs and having two upright handles. Apparently these handles are hollow also. They bear traces of an archaic dragon design. The bowl has a wide flat rim. A remarkable feature about this bronze is its amazing patina, which is in the form of a malachite incrustation as much as an inch thick in places. It seems to be superimposed upon the bronze rather than an actual breaking down of the alloy near the surface, for much of it has been scraped off leaving the bronze itself, to all appearances, none the worse for its loss. The malachite looks like a hardened flow of molten green metal and the polished green of its sluggish lumpy surface adds greatly to the rich colour effect of this fine bronze.



Bronze Tripod with Malachite Incrustation.
Diameter, 23½ inches.

RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE COLLECTION OF GREEK VASES

By EDITH H. DOHAN

A BRONZE AGE CUP DECORATED WITH AN OCTOPUS

NO one can travel far in the Eastern Mediterranean without encountering the octopus. On the table d'hôte of seaside restaurants are served neatly cut sections of his long arms, which taste, if one has the temerity to taste, something like our scollop. On wharves young boys swing sprawling masses of pulp high above their heads and slap them with all their might against the ground. They are pounding the octopus to make it tender. And on still summer mornings fishermen are seen working their boats in and out of the tiny coves that fringe the Greek islands. They are hunting the octopus in his lair. One man hangs over the stern and looks through a glass-bottomed pail; the other gently propels the boat.

Since men made boats they have hunted the octopus so—if we except the glass-bottomed pail. Throughout the bronze age, potters, jewellers, and painters of frescoes used the octopus as a decorative motive. In the earlier phases of the potter's art, the whole cove was represented with fronds of seaweed floating about its margins and the smaller fry of marine life filling in the picture. In the last period of the bronze age, the figure of the octopus is so stylized that it is little more than a figure eight with two eyes and four arms which cover in even loops the entire surface of the vase. The octopus on the Museum's cup, page 73, is from an intermediate period. The creature is depicted in a manner that is both lifelike and decorative. The number of arms is altered in the interest of symmetry; the suckers are rendered by neat rows of dots in superadded white.

The vase is made of admirably levigated clay; its surface is highly polished. It is not a Cretan piece, for this shape of high stemmed cup was little used in Crete, not indeed until the very end of the bronze age. It was popular, on the contrary, at Mycenae and other sites on the mainland and also at Rhodes, where recently cups of this shape with exactly the same disposition of bands on the foot and with a single octopus symmetrically arranged, have been brought to light by the Italian excavators. The cup dates from about 1400 B.C.

RED-FIGURED LEKYTHOS BY THE BERLIN PAINTER

This vase was purchased for the Museum by Dr. Gordon shortly before his death. It is a minor work of a great painter. His name is unknown but the importance of names and of signed vases is



A bronze age cup with octopus decoration.
1400 B. C.
Height, 8½ inches.

greatly diminished by the studies of Mr. J. D. Beazley of Oxford, who has pointed out that some of the finest Greek vases extant are unsigned. Mr. Beazley has in fact revolutionized the study of Greek vases; by marvellous acumen and the careful observation of the most minute details of the vase-painter's art, he establishes the



Red-figured lekythos by the Berlin Painter.
About 475 B. C.
Height, 13½ inches.

style of a given painter and groups together the vases by his hand. The painter is named for his *chef d'œuvre* or for his best known piece. So accurate is Mr. Beazley's method that his attributions are seldom questioned.

To Mr. Beazley I owe the identification of this vase. The painter is named "The Master of the Berlin Amphora," or, for short, "The Berlin Painter," after a masterpiece of Greek vase-painting, amphora No. 2160 in Berlin. No less than 149 vases have been attributed to this master by Mr. Beazley. Six more, one of them a stamnos in our Museum, are attributed to his school. Very few works of this painter are in America, so that it is a matter for congratulation that we have secured a work by the hand of the Berlin Painter as well as one from his school.

Our lekythos was formerly in the collection of Baron Gindice in Girgenti. It is decorated with a single figure, that of a Mænad in rapid motion. She wears an Ionic chiton of sheer material, edged at the top with two black lines. The folds into which this garment falls below the waist are represented by groups of straight lines terminating below in the ladder contour. The garment is pinned on the shoulder to form sleeves. Over the chiton is worn an himation or shawl of thicker stuff with tassels on the corners. The hair is caught up behind by a diadem. The figure resembles closely that of Europa on a bell-krater in Corneto, painted by the Berlin Master. The grave and gentle figure has the freshness and engaging charm of the ripe archaic style of about 475 B. C.

"His people," says Mr. Beazley of the Berlin Painter, "have the charm of early youth, long limbs—winged things and creatures

'Pard-like, beautiful, and swift.'"

TWO WHITE LEKYTHOI FROM ERETRIA

In Aristophanes' incomparable picture of women in parliament, the *Ekklesiastusæ*, the ladies pass a law that young men should be compelled to make love to old women. A scene ensues between a youth and a beldame, she demanding under the new law that he make love to her.

"But I fear your lover," says he.

"Who?" she asks.

"The ablest of the painters," he replies.

"And who is he?"

"The man who paints lekythoi for the dead."



White lekythos from Eretria.
V Century B. C.
Height, $15\frac{1}{8}$ inches.



Another view of lekythos shown on opposite
page.

With an Athenian audience this was equivalent to saying that the man interested in her was the undertaker. A few lines further on the saucy boy tells her to prepare her bridal couch, but in so doing he uses the phrases and prescribes the rites for preparing the funeral bier.

"First strew it well with marjoram,

"Lay beneath four well-crushed branches of the grape,

"Bind on the fillets, set beside it lekythoi."

These two passages which doubtless made the Athenians shake with laughter are of great interest for the modern archæologist, as they show that lekythoi were made for the dead and were set beside funeral biers.

The class of vases to which Aristophanes had reference has been identified beyond a doubt, not with the red-figured lekythoi like the foregoing but with the so-called white lekythoi, vases which were mainly covered with a white slip, and decorated with scenes relating to the cult of the dead.

Two of these funeral lekythoi the Museum bought recently from an American traveller who purchased them in 1893 at Eretria on the island of Eubœa; the peasant who sold them stated that he had discovered them in a tomb adjacent to the theatre and that they lay, both of them, upon a sarcophagus.

Neither vase is in a perfect state of preservation. In the case of the lekythos on page 76, the white slip is flaking off from the clay beneath it. Some pieces which had entirely scaled away have at some period been glued to the surface of the vase and retouched. This damage had luckily been confined to a small area just above the feet of the girl. On the other vase the slip has not flaked off but has worn or been rubbed away until in places the lines of the picture are difficult to trace. But in spite of their imperfect preservation—and white lekythoi because of their fugitive slip are rarely entirely undamaged—these vases are excellent representatives of their class.

In a scholium on Plato's *Hippias Minor*, a lekythos is defined as an Attic word for the vase in which unguents for the dead were carried. The word for unguents is a general one applicable to any costly oil or perfume. Such rare essences would not be squandered; a very little would do to anoint the dead or set beside the bier. Nor would the bottle be filled full when it was carried to the grave and left as an offering, or when it was tossed with its contents on



White lekythos from Eretria.
V Century B. C.
Height, 15 inches.

the blazing pyre, a practice attested by the clear signs of a second firing which have been recognized on some of these lekythoi. With an eye to the thrifty character of his clients, the potter sometimes made these vases with false bottoms, and one such is our vase on page 76. Half way up the shoulder of the vase may be traced a break where what was in reality a very small bottle holding only a few ounces was set into the lekythos proper. The false bottom comes just above the line of the girl's head on the outside of the vase.

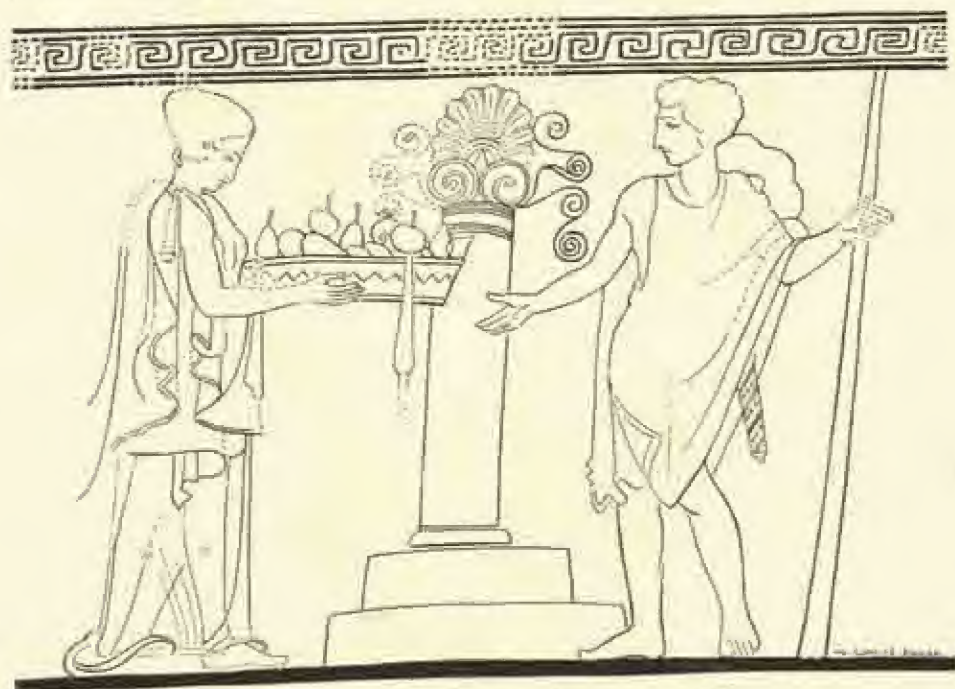


Seeds on white background shown on page 76.

The subject of the decoration is the same on both vases, the presentation of offerings at the tomb. In the center a funeral shaft, on the left a girl, on the right a boy. It is a picture which is repeated over and over on these vases but never twice alike. The funeral shafts are never alike; the sashes (such as Aristophanes' impudent boy would have the old lady bind to her couch) are tied on differently; the offerings vary; there is infinite variety of costume and of pose. On one of our vases the girl offers a basket of fruit while the boy stands quietly by, a chlamys and quiver slung over one

shoulder. On the other it is the girl who stands quietly by with outstretched hand, while the boy wrapped in a long himation and standing with his back to the spectator gravely makes his offering of a flask. This flask, it will be noted, is not a lekythos, which shows that other vases than lekythoi were used for offering to the dead.

The grave monument on the vase illustrated on page 79 is of unusual interest. From either side of the capital extend finely drawn spirals. Such fine threadlike spirals could not have been carved from marble. It may be that the vase painter meant to delineate a bronze



Scene on white lekythos shown on page 79.

capital, or even, since bronze and marble were freely combined in both architecture and sculpture, a bronze embellishment of a marble capital. It is known that the Corinthian capital was derived from a metal original; on the Monument of Lysicrates in Athens, a marble knob on the capital is thought to stand for a metal rivet. So it may be that a type of capital otherwise lost is preserved for us in this lekythos.

These painted bottles must have been very gay when first they left the potter's shop. Against their creamy ground the design is drawn in free unerring lines of soft color, brown in one (page 79), red like the red of a chalk drawing in the other (page 76). Garments,

hair, the sashes on the shafts are rendered in solid colors often of brightest hues. The girl on the latter vase has red hair and a gay red robe; the boy has brown hair bound with a red fillet and wears a robe of purplish brown with a white border on which are embroid-



Bell-krater showing scene of youthful hunters.

Obverse.

V Century a. c.

Height, 12½ inches.

ered red dots. The sashes on the shaft are red. Such bright colors would have shown off beautifully when the vases stood in vivid Greek sunshine on the marble steps of grave monuments, their creamy ground set off from the glistening surface of the marble by the fine black glaze of the neck and base. Or they would have made

a fine flash of color, in case, as the dealer stated of these two, they had been set on a marble sarcophagus in a tomb.

The scheme of color used for these lekythoi corresponds closely to that of the painted marble stelæ that have been recovered, and probably differs but little from that of the great wall-paintings.



Reverse of bell-krater showing triad of draped figures.

Aristophanes cast his jibes at the humble painter of funeral lekythoi; we are profoundly thankful to him not only for the intrinsic beauty of his works and the light he has thrown on funeral customs but for the hint he has given as to the beauties of grander works of art, now forever lost.

A BELL-KRATER BY THE PAINTER OF THE BERLIN DEINOS

This vase, page 82, is clearly to be identified with that shown in the Burlington Catalogue for 1903, and attributed by Mr. Beazley to the Painter of the Berlin Deinos. It was formerly in the Newton Robinson collection, but between the time it was loaned for the Burlington Exhibition and the time of its purchase by the Museum, it has suffered from too assiduous cleaning, for the delicate lines representing the rocks against which the hunters lean are hardly to be discerned at present, whereas they show quite plainly in the reproduction in the Burlington Catalogue.

The vase is a good example of the work done in a period some fifty years after that of the *lekythos* on page 74. The shape, a favorite one in this phase of vase-painting, was used for mixing wine and water. A wreath of leaves is painted just below the rim. A line of broken *mæanders* is carried far enough around the body to serve as a base for the figures. Four boyish hunters are represented on the obverse. Three of them seem to have paused for breath when the fourth comes walking in with the quarry, a hare, and tells how it was taken. Each boy is dressed in sporting country garb, wearing only a *chlamys* and a hat. The successful hunter wears a shade hat, or *petasos*, the other central figure a *pilos*. The hats of the others have fallen back on their shoulders. Each carries a knobbed stick, the *λαγωβόλον*, with which to fell his prey. On the obverse is the stock triad of draped figures.

It is a scene full of human interest; the artist is now concerned not only with the intricacies of bone and muscle in his figures, which he poses with freedom and with variety, but also in the workings of their minds. The picture might serve as an illustration for some country idyll. The rocks, now so largely gone, gave perspective to the scene and suggest the influence of frescoes.

A MAORI FEEDING-FUNNEL

BY H. U. HALL

IN the MUSEUM JOURNAL for December, 1920, a number of objects illustrating the native decorative art of New Zealand were published. The photographs included a realistic representation of the face moko, or incised tattooing, on a figure which probably once formed part of a house ornament (Fig. 91). Two drawings were added which were made from one of the three mokoed heads in the possession of the MUSEUM, and it was attempted to show that the characteristic grotesque outlines of many of the human faces in Maori woodcarvings were derived from the face moko. Some account was there given of the customs and traditions connected with tattooing in Maoriland, which it is here proposed to supplement in connection with the description of the feeding-funnel, four views of which are presented herewith.

These objects were used, for reasons which will shortly appear, to administer liquid food to persons who were undergoing the process of tattooing. The vessel has roughly the form of an inverted cone distorted so that the slope of one face is longer, or develops more gradually than that of the other towards a grotesque and distorted human figure which adorns the rim of the funnel on each of the faces concerned, being more prominent at the upper end of the more gradual than at that of the steeper slope.

The funnel shown differs chiefly from the published examples with which I am familiar in being slenderer and of more graceful form, in the shelflike projection of the rim, and in having the decoration confined to the figures and to the side and top of the rim. In all but one of the examples referred to the decoration, consisting mainly of the scrolls and spirals characteristic of Maori ornament, covers almost the whole of the surface. The exception is a modern example—made about the year 1862—the only decoration of which consists of two human figures carved in a simple style which does not represent very closely the classical Maori tradition.

Of the example here figured it may be said that, although the carving has not the careful finish which characterizes the best Maori workmanship it is extremely spirited in execution and, while preserving the conventions which typify the Maori craftsman's representation

of the human figure in all details save one, it has an individuality which is quite rare among the highly stylized productions of workmen who for mere virtuosity are unique among the woodcarvers of the Southern Pacific. The exception referred to is the giving of four or five digits to the extremities of the limbs of the figures. The classical Maori convention requires three, usually combined in the case of the hand, with a sort of spur which represents the thumb. But although this is usual, it is not invariable, and there can be little doubt of the very considerable age of this funnel, which shows clearly the tool marks of the stone implements with which it was carved. The convention in question has in fact been observed in the case of the feet of the female figure. The execution of the whole gives the impression of being due to a talented amateur rather than a professional woodcarver. It is known that chiefs and others outside of the professional ranks sometimes employed their abundant leisure in this kind of diversion.

The head of the male figure is carved upon the projecting rim of the funnel; its body and limbs appear on the tubular portion, being built up of a number of spirals and concentric arcs of circles. The hip ornaments represent the *rapé* or buttock pattern of the body tattoo, which, especially in flat reliefs of this nature, is made to occupy the frontal aspect of the hip joint and the inguinal region, whereas in reality it was tattooed on the sides of the nates. In the woodcarvings it was conventionally repeated, for the sake of symmetry, in the position occupied in nature by the breast and shoulder. It was probably not tattooed on the breasts in the actual moko. In the delineation of human figures, in the most characteristic cases, realism was sacrificed to the decorative intention, and the figure was built up wholly of such ornaments, suggested no doubt, in the case of the more important motifs, by the actual bodily contours, while the subsidiary ones were, in their turn, harmonized with the former. The upper concentric curves, which, between the breast-ornaments, meet and coalesce vertically into a jointed design, probably represent the sternum and ribs. The ornament made up of a doubled "circinate" spiral and filled scroll which occupies the sides and, in a modified form, the top of the heavy projecting rim is the regular ornament of the sides of the bridge of the nose. The space occupied by the face being too small for a faithful representation of the face tattoo, it is simply filled with concentric arcs, and this characteristic face ornament is transferred to the ground which it was desired to

decorate—fittingly, for a vessel whose use was an accompaniment to the actual decoration of the face.

In contrast to the male figure, the female is carved wholly on the projecting rim of the funnel, the limbs being disposed in a grotesquely distorted posture, mainly on a triangular and deeply



Wooden funnel used by the Maori for feeding a person who was being tattooed.

undercut downward extension of the rim, so that the whole figure is contained within a well-defined lozenge-shaped space, two of whose angles extend above and below the projecting rim of the funnel in a manner which suggests, in the front view of this figure, the bezel of a finger ring, an effect which is heightened by the gemlike cutting of the designs in the hard wood. Similar distortions are common in

Maori art, being sometimes dictated apparently by the nature of the space which the carver wishes to fill, sometimes by a convention which represents an obscure mythic concept or the symbolic exaggeration of an otherwise significant natural posture of the body; or again, as here perhaps, one reason for the distortion is made to subserve the other. In any case it is carried out with considerable skill and with excellent effect.

The gulf of the distended open mouth is crossed by a ridge, reserved in the carving, the surface of which is cut away backwards obliquely towards the roof of the mouth to give the effect of a protruded tongue in conformity with the convention which is usual in the woodcarvings.

Two other differences in the execution of the two figures remain to be noticed. The lower part of the face of the male figure is carved on a triangular downward extension of the rim as, partially, the body of the female figure also is. But the apex of the triangle is much more obtuse, and the lozenge effect achieved in the corresponding space on the other face of the funnel is absent, the tapering top of the head being cut down in the case of the male figure to an almost imperceptible angle. Although probably in any case the upward and outward projection of this portion of the rim would, in view of the proper convention for the shape of the top of the funnel, have been less marked than that of the corresponding opposite portion, it seems likely either that the woodcarver had for this reason to cut down this part of the rim after he had completed the carving of the face, or that the accidental breaking off of the part of the rim which carried the man's forehead—there is a crack in the wood extending diagonally upwards across the left side of the face—made it necessary to smooth off the fracture at the expense of the forehead, and to carve again the decoration of the top of the rim—if this had been completed when the fracture took place. But if the funnel was broken after it had been completed and used, it cannot have been long after its early employment, for there is little, if any, difference in the colour of the surface at this point, and the polish and rounding by use of the edge are apparently as great here as anywhere else.

The other point of difference is one which answers to usage in real life. Women's faces were commonly tattooed only on and about the lips and at the sides of the chin. The horizontal lines on the lips which are characteristic of the woman's tattoo can be plainly seen. The rest of the face is undecorated. I am inclined to think

that the short vertical ridges which start at the corners of the distended mouth are merely intended to mark off roughly the sides of the face. It may be noted that the ornament which has been spoken of as covering the sides of the projecting rim of the funnel originates in close contact with the sides of the face of the male figure and is quite cut off from the corresponding region occupied by the head of the female, an additional reason for concluding that this ornament is intended to represent a portion of the male face tattoo which there was not room to delineate in its proper place. This ornament, when applied to the nose, was known as *ngu*. Women were not usually tattooed on the body. When they were, the marks differed from those of the men, though in the woodcarvings they were usually made to appear practically the same, as here. A spiral which is said by at least one authority to have been placed on men's shoulders—apparently not involving the breasts as it does in the woodcarvings—was known as *rauru*.¹

Tattooing in New Zealand was not directly or formally a mark of rank. Anyone could be tattooed who could afford to pay the not inconsiderable fees of the skilled tattooer. This would to a great extent make it indirectly a mark of class, since only, or at least chiefly, the well-to-do and highly placed would wear the moko. Neither was it, as so often elsewhere, a formal mark of entrance into the state of manhood or of nubility. Yet, here again, it had at least a fortuitous relation to this elsewhere common significance of the usage. For, red lips being considered ugly, the blue lines of pigment which obliterated the undesirable colour were applied to a girl before marriage; and we are informed that the skin of anyone offering him- or herself for the operation must be "matured," i.e., the candidate must be adolescent, at least.² The elaborate moko of the men usually took years to complete.

The use of funnels for feeding a person whose face was being tattooed is connected with the operation in two ways. The pain and inflammation which were the result of an operation lasting for several days must have made it difficult to open the mouth widely enough to take in solid food, although a sketch is in existence of a man who had undergone moko feeding himself with a large morsel

¹ For these terms see A. Hamilton, *The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race*, Dunedin (N. Z.), 1896, pp. 312, 313.

² See H. G. Robley, *Moko or Maori Tattooing*, London, 1896; H. L. Roth, "Maori Tatu and Moko," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society*, xxxi (1901); *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, xxx (1921), p. 304.

of something stuck on the end of a fern stalk. To relieve this situation the funnel, through which liquid food might be poured into the mouth, was devised. At the same time it met the requirements of the taboo with which the operation of tattooing was attended. The operator and his subject were tabooed, "unclean,"



The funnel, seen from the opposite side.

while the blood of the subject was being shed, and the subject himself must not touch his face with his hands, until the taboo had been removed and subject and operator were no longer *tapu*, withdrawn from common contacts, "unclean," but *noa*, fitted for everyday contacts and "common" uses, "clean." It does not seem certain, indeed, that this explanation quite covers the ground. The head generally in Polynesia was sacred, the peculiar seat apparently of

mana, and the blood, its essence, would in any case be dangerous to come into contact with, except under the proper precautions. The skull, even, of a deceased person, did not lose its sacredness. One must not touch food with the hands if they had been in contact with a skull.¹ It is easy to see why it might be dangerous for another to touch the wounded head of the patient when it was, so to speak, oozing with *mana*, but why should a man be afraid of his own *mana*, even when it was, in a manner of speaking, exacerbated? It looks as if the question was, indeed, one concerning the more general ritual "uncleanness" involved in touching blood.

It is sometimes said that these funnels were for the use of chiefs. In Hamilton's *Maori Art*, the reference to the funnels in the index reads: "Funnels for feeding *tapu* chiefs;" but the legend to the illustrations (pl. LI) in the text (p. 352) has it simply that they were "used to convey more or less liquid food to a person who was being tattooed." It seems indeed to be certain that their use was not confined to chiefs. A funnel already referred to at the beginning of this article as dating from about 1862 was made by one Wiripo Potena, a member of the tribe known as Ngati-Awa, who lived near Waitemata (? on Auckland Isthmus) for his daughter, Te Amohaere, when her lips were tattooed.

Wiripo was probably not one of the class of *tohungas* whose occupation was skilled woodcarving and who formed a kind of caste. Some of these men had a more than local fame. When an important building or a war canoe was to be built, the ornamental carving was entrusted to artists from a distance and such men received large fees—in kind, in the old days—for their services. If Wiripo himself was not a great artist, some of his fellow tribesmen were. The decorated house, Hotonui, which was built for Taipari, a chief of the Ngati-Maru, and is preserved in the Auckland Museum was adorned by the skill of woodcarvers from four sub-tribes of the Ngati-Awa, who worked for three years at the carvings. They refused—Art for Art's sake—any payment beyond the food they consumed during that time and certain gifts which were then made to them. But after they had departed, a gift of one thousand pounds was sent after them, Taipari feeling that otherwise the reputation for liberality of the Ngati-Maru would be seriously impaired. It is not on record that the gift was this time spurned.²

¹ James Cowan, *The Maoris of New Zealand*, 1910, p. 120.

² *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, xxxiv (1925), p. 280.

The carvings of such chief's dwelling houses or storehouses, or of the assembly houses of a tribe, were highly prized. If, in a country where intertribal warfare was rife, the attack of a formidable enemy was expected, the finest carvings were detached from walls or gables and hidden in a cave or swamp.¹

Over an apprentice woodcarver a kind of initiation ceremony was performed, a *karakia*, or incantation in verse, being recited to make him apt to receive instruction. Then the apprentice was made to eat of a sacred food, whose effect was to fix such instruction firmly in his mind. Within the general tradition, each school and tribe had its own conventional methods and forms, which were to be followed closely; innovations were frowned upon, errors were omens of evil. Chips from the carving must not be used in making a fire for cooking; such an act would be a breach of the taboo on the carving, and would result in misfortune.²

The design was drawn upon the surface of the wood with charcoal or traced with the cutting edge of a chisel or graving tool. In large examples the superfluous wood within the limits of a design or surrounding it was partially removed by the application of fire, the charred remnants being chipped away with small tools. Before the acquisition of metal, stone implements were used—chisels and graving tools of fine greenstone hafted in wood, for the more delicate part of the work. The tool was driven when necessary with a light mallet of wood or whale's bone. Both the straight-edged and the skew chisel were employed and the cutting edge had either a single or a double bevel. Gouges, though of no great depth, were used. For pierced carving, and no doubt for the preliminaries in hollowing the funnels, a stone-pointed drill rotated by a cord was used. To enlarge and smooth the hole, round tapering pieces of sandstone were employed. Burnishing was performed with pieces of sandstone ground smooth; certain small blocks of polished greenstone, agate, and chalcedony, which appear in collections, were probably used for the same purpose.³ The upper and larger portion of the bore of the funnel with which we are here concerned does not seem to have been finished in the way indicated. The rude vertical striations of the interior surface must have been made with a narrow chisel or a gouge; near the top two well marked parallel horizontal

¹ Loc. cit., p. 281.

² P. 283.

³ Pp. 284-288.

bands of fine striations on one side seem to have been made in the course of an attempt to smooth off some irregularities with a narrow stone chisel having a finely gapped edge. The dished uppermost part of the opening was no doubt made with a chisel. There is no evidence of the use of a metal tool.



Side view of the funnel.

Various legends were related to account for the invention of the woodcarver's art. "According to the East Coast"—of North Island, where carving flourished exceedingly—"story the art of carving comes from the gods themselves, by whom it was first practiced. Rua-i-te-pukenga introduced carving into this world, having acquired it in the realm of Rangi-Tamaku, the second of the twelve heavens, counting upwards from the earth. Names commencing with Rua

signify the personified forms of many kinds of knowledge." Several other names are connected with the introduction of the art of carving, including that of Mataora, who is said to have introduced carving and tattooing to the upper from the lower world. According to one story Mataora's knowledge descended to Rua, while in another version the latter learned the art from "a tribe of wood fairies in Hawaiki"—the traditional ancient home of the Polynesians. Ordinary mortals were apparently incapable of even such small improvements as cleaning the wood dust and small chips out of incisions. This bright idea is attributed to another Rua, while a third taught that these should be left in place in order that the red ochre mixed with shark oil which was sometimes applied to woodcarvings for their preservation as well as their adornment might the better adhere to the wood. Another story attributes to Rua-te-pupuke the invention of all *whakairo*, or the whole art of design, applied not only to woodcarving but also to tattooing and to the decoration of garments with the *taniko* or border. According to Hamilton the inventor "of the present pattern or style of Maori carving" was Rauru, the son of Toi. The same name, as we have seen, was applied to the shoulder pattern in tattooing.¹ The insistence on the inclusion of the three chief forms of Maori artistic effort under one main heading is a feature of the Mataora story, as we shall see.

There is another and rather dramatic account of the invention of woodcarving which attributes to it, in its origin, a realism not belonging to its best later development. The climax depends for its drama upon a situation which is not strange to Western dealers in anecdote. Rua, it is said, lived in the very distant past. Once, when he paid a visit to "the Polynesian Neptune," Tangaroa, the latter showed him with great pride the decorations by a certain Hura-Waikato with which his house was adorned. Though Tangaroa had called these "carvings," Rua was astonished to find that they were nothing but painted figures like those which are still painted on rafters. He invited Tangaroa to visit him and be shown what real carvings were like. When he arrived at Rua's house, Tangaroa went up and rubbed noses, in accordance with polite usage, with a figure he saw standing in front of it. He was "overcome with shame" when Rua came laughing out of the house and showed him how he had been deceived by the lifelike appearance of an effigy in wood.²

¹ *Ibid.*, cit., p. 284; Hamilton, pp. 7, 313.

² Hamilton, p. 152, quoting Elsdon Best.

Another version of this story introduces still another claimant to the honour of having invented the decoration of houses with realistic figures, and also purports to account for the three-fingered convention. Nuku-mai-teko, also known as Mutu-wai-teko, was one of the ancestors of the Maori people in their old home, Hawaiki. He had only three fingers on each hand and reproduced this peculiarity in all the figures he carved. He built a house in which all the side slabs were adorned with these figures. Tangaroa came to visit him, and, entering the house, greeted Nuku with the customary *hongi*, or nose-rubbing. "Then, seeing in the dim light of the interior a tattooed chieftain-like figure standing at the side of the *whare* (house) he approached and advanced his nose to that of the other in the greeting courtesy of the *hongi*. To his amazement he found that the tattooed chief was nothing but a wooden effigy."¹ Rua's naturalism was the more perfect; his masterpiece deceived Tangaroa in the broad light of day!

The story of Mataora, who had his painted and transient personal adornment replaced in the underworld by a permanent *moko* and returning to the upper world taught the latter art to his fellow men, is sometimes cited in support of the opinion that tattooing really did replace an earlier custom of face and body painting, which, as a matter of fact, was also practised by the tattooed Maori, who smeared also their clothing with red ochre mixed with oil.

As in the case of woodcarving, more than one hero, as well as more than one version of the adventures of the same hero, is connected with the introduction of *moko* to men. As Rua—or several Ruas—shares with Rauru and Nuku and even with Mataora himself the credit of bringing the art of woodcarving to men, so Mataora and Tama divide that of introducing *moko*. The story of Tama, like that of Mataora, treats tattooing as a development from face and body painting.

Tama-mu-a-Raki, a very ugly man, was deserted by his wife, who could no longer endure life with one who was so disagreeable to look at. He took the shape of a heron and flew off to the underworld to ask his ancestors to make him beautiful. They painted graceful curved lines, like their own tattooing, on his face and body, but he found that these marks were not permanent and was told that ineradicable markings could only be acquired through visiting other ancestors who dwelt with the guardians of the Door of Dark-

¹ Cowan, pp. 170, 171.

ness at the entrance to the Land of Death. There he underwent the operation of tattooing during many days of suffering. When he returned to his home all the women acclaimed his beauty and his pain was forgotten as he looked upon his wife and saw "her face radiant with smiles and heard her voice of joyful greeting."¹

Mataora's story, related briefly by Tregear, is told with much greater detail in a collection, translated and annotated by S. Percy Smith, of legends and myths taken down by two educated Maori in the Fifties of the last century from the mouths of two aged *tohungas* as part of the lore which was formerly taught in the Whare-Wananga or school of Maori learning.²

Niwareka, a great-granddaughter of the goddess of the underworld, accompanied by a number of other Turehu, or flaxen-haired girls, came up into the world to amuse themselves. They awoke Mataora, who was asleep in his house, and after he had entertained them with food they danced before him. He fell in love with Niwareka and married her; but one day, being jealous of her familiarity with his elder brother, he beat her and she left him and returned to her old home.

Mataora set out to seek his wife; for, though apparently of a less submissive nature than Tama, he seems to have been equally uxorious. He came first to the fatherland of the Maori, where is the entrance to the underworld, Rarohenga, at a house called Hawaiki-of-the-Solstice. There are four doors of this house, whence come forth the winds which, blowing in the direction of the four cardinal points, have spread abroad the children of the Sky-Father and Earth-Mother upon the bosom of the Mother. To this house the dead return, each from his own quarter, to his particular door. They who love the Earth-Mother go hence to Rarohenga, but they who love the Sky-Father proceed by the eastern door on their way to the home of the high god Io.

Mataora, being still in the flesh, had, as we have seen, his own reasons for professing love for Mother-Earth, and proceeded accordingly. Having reached the guardhouse which stopped his way into Rarohenga, he asked the warder if he had seen a woman pass that way—"She had a straight nose and long flaxen hair." Long ago the warder had seen her pass by, weeping, and he allows Mataora to go on. Again half-way down the descent he hears news of her and her

¹ E. Tregear, *The Maori Race*, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904, pp. 265, 261.

² *The Lore of the Whare-Wananga*, Part I, New Plymouth, N. Z., 1913.

distressful looks, and at last he reaches the village of his father-in-law, Ue-tonga, whom he found engaged in tattooing someone.

Now in those days, on Earth, men were "tattooed" on the alæ of the nostrils, on the bridge of the nose, on the forehead and temples, while women had a cross on the forehead and one on each cheek, with sometimes a mark on the nostrils. And this "tattooing" was in reality painting in blue and red clays, or, for very dark-skinned people, in white and red. Decoration of houses was in white and



Top of the funnel.

red clay and charcoal; there was no carving. "These were the only and original adornments in former times."

Mataora and his father-in-law fall into a dispute concerning the nature and nomenclature of moko, Mataora being surprised to see the blood-letting involved in Ue-tonga's procedure, and the latter rubs off Mataora's face painting with his hand, thus exposing him to the ridicule of the onlookers. He is then taught that there are two kinds of carving or *whakairo*—which also means ornamentation in general—namely, that practised by women in making the ornamental borders of cloths, and that practised by men, of which the

carved head of a wooden halbert is shown as an example. Moko is, properly, also an example of the latter. Mataora, convinced now that the Shades have the right of the matter, demands to have his vanished moko replaced, and is properly tattooed by Ue-tonga, who first summons artists to trace the patterns with charcoal on his son-in-law's face. Mataora, racked with anguish, bursts into a lament for his wife:

"Niwareka, that art lost, where art thou?
 Show thyself, O Niwareka!
 'Twas love of thee that dragged me down here below,
 Niwareka! Niwareka! Love eats me up!
 Niwareka! Niwareka! Thou hast bound me fast,
 Niwareka! Niwareka! Let us remain in the world,
 Niwareka! Niwareka! Leave behind this Rarohenga,
 Niwareka! Niwareka!—and thus end my pain."

No doubt Ue-tonga, thinking of his daughter's contusions, struck the bone chisel harder with every ejaculation of that name. But Niwareka's younger sister, overhearing the plaintive song, went and told her that there was a handsome fellow suffering under her father's mallet, who called in his agony on her name. She and her yellow-haired companions went to see for themselves and then sent the sister to fetch him to their village. This she did in spite of Ue-tonga's annoyance at having his sport interrupted.

There is a naive pathos in the manner in which the reunion of these sundered lovers is related. Niwareka seats herself near her husband. She asks: "'Art thou Mataora?' He bowed his head and holding out his arms towards Niwareka opened and shut his hands. Niwareka then knew it was indeed Mataora and she began the usual *tangi* over Mataora; the *kauri* was like laughter." The opening and shutting of the hands, palm downwards, is the old Maori way of beckoning. The *tangi* is the conventional weeping at the meeting of friends. *Kauri* in this context refers to the moko, one of the pigments used for which was prepared from soot made by burning the wood of the kauri pine. The storyteller's analogy of beauty and laughter reveals a poet.

After living together for some time in Rarohenga, Mataora persuades his wife to return with him to the upper world, promising her father to follow the customs of Rarohenga—where all is sweetness and light—up there; in other words, not to beat his wife again.

They set out together, but at the guardhouse at the foot of the slope leading up to man's world they are advised by the warder to turn back and wait until "November of the summer"—we are in the southern hemisphere—for "the world is now full of evil," of wintry ills. In summer's November they set forth again, and passed two guard-houses on the road to the upper air. At the third, which was kept by an uncompromising fellow who seems to have been brought up in the best traditions of the Revenue Department, they were stopped and questioned. Mataora, with typical masculine docility in the face of official authority, gave a full inventory of his baggage. He was taking with him to the upper world, he said, the models of the *moko-whakatara*, or woodcarving, of the *moko-whakanyao*, or face-tattoo, and of the *whakairo-pae-pae-roa*, or ornamental border of mats. Niwareka with the disarming candour of a perfect lady accustomed to the inconsiderate behaviour of these frontier inquisitors owned up to having some old clothes in her bag. Passed, and no doubt triumphing in her defeat of an unreasonable curiosity, she went on with virtuous Mataora to the last gate, where to her astonishment she found the same prying fellow again, and what was still more annoying, discovered that he knew she was in possession of contraband and even what it was. But she carried off this most embarrassing situation with an air. Taking out a brand-new cloak she had made for Mataora, she insisted that the warder should keep it there, in order that its *tuniko* (border) might remain a "pattern for the world and for Rarohenga." This was too much for the official. He reduced the quota to zero forthwith, declaring that henceforth the living should never pass into Rarohenga again—shades alone, of unimpeachable simon-purity, "shall tread both the upper and the lower worlds."

Thus these arts were brought into the world and taught to the people. The original motifs of the tattooing were those which Mataora saw in Rarohenga—the markings on the nostrils, on the bridge of the nose, and on the temples. The later elaborations were first carved on a figure which formed the finial of the gable of a house decorated by Nuku-te-aio and Rua-i-te-pupuke. Here we meet the Nukus and Ruas again. Evidently, in the official view, they were not the inventors but rather the developers of the decorative arts.

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Great Fresco from Moon Hill Monastery, Ch'ing Hua Chén, Honan Province,
Sakyamuni, with Hu K'ung-tsung and Ti-tsang, surrounded by Bodhisattvas, child devotees, devas, and guardians.
Height 18 feet; Length 29 feet.

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ANOTHER FRESCO FROM MOON HILL MONASTERY

BY HELEN E. FERNALD

JUST north of the Yellow River and crossing nearly at right angles the main trunk line from Peking to Hankow is a short branch of railroad connecting Tao K'ou Chên on the River Wei with the town of Ch'ing Hua Chên in Honan Province. Ch'ing Hua Chên lies about twenty miles away from the Hoang Ho and is diagonally across it from Honan Fu. Behind the town rise the mountains, piling up over the border into Shansi Province. It is because of the rich coal mines in these mountains that the railroad was built, to get the precious material down to the waiting junks on the Wei, whence it is carried on to the Grand Canal to be distributed throughout Chihli.

These mountains along the Shansi-Honan border contain other things besides coal, things precious in a different way, remains of the bygone glory of a religion still revered but of an art no longer practised. Some five miles from Ch'ing Hua Chên, up in the mountains, are three old Buddhist temples, long forgotten now and in a sad state of ruin, with few to care what happens to them. The central one of the three is known as Yüeh Shan Ssü, "Moon Hill Monastery," built, it is claimed, during the T'ang dynasty, 618-906 A.D.

Two years ago the larger part of a huge wall painting said to come from the main hall of Moon Hill Monastery was acquired by the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM and published in the MUSEUM JOURNAL for September, 1926. Although parts of it were missing, the scheme of design was obvious and the dimensions of the whole could be estimated. It was seen to have been the decoration of a wall about twenty-five feet high and forty feet long, a truly colossal painting.

Within the last few months the nearly perfect fresco from the opposite wall of the same hall has been brought over and purchased by the MUSEUM, being now installed in Charles Custis Harrison Hall in its place opposite the other. Tremendous and awe inspiring as the first was, this fresco actually overpowers it in grandeur and impressiveness. This may be partly because it is more complete, but it is also because of the greater intensity of colour and greater massiveness of the Buddha figure in the centre.

The general scheme of composition is the same on both walls, the essential figures on the one having their counterparts on the other. They are practically of the same size, the style is the same, and the technique is identical. It is evident, as one looks from the one to the other, that they are parts of one plan of decoration, made to balance each other, painted at approximately the same time. Each wall has in the centre a colossal Buddha seated crosslegged on a throne, while on either side of him, sitting in European fashion (i. e., as if on a chair) and turned slightly in toward the Buddha, is a great Bodhisattva. All have opaque halos behind their heads and large transparent body halos. Surrounding them are lesser Bodhisattvas, child devotees, demon kings, and other deities. Cloud forms fill the background. In design the style is that of the T'ang dynasty, known to us through the frescoes and paintings of the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, at that little town on the far western border of China, Tun Huang. Both of the paintings from Yüeh Shan Ssü were done on walls of coarse reddish mud mixed with straw surfaced with a thin layer of slightly finer clay. In both cases body colour was used, opaque, like tempera, and looking like enamel where it was put on thick. Outlines are black and heavy and of even width. As in the case of the first one, the second wall painting was removed from the temple by cutting it out in huge oblong sections from behind. The new painting is eighteen feet in height and twenty-nine feet long. Making allowance for the four missing figures on the right, the top of the Buddha's halo, and a foot leeway all around, the wall from which this came must have been of the same dimensions as the other.

A photograph of the new fresco is reproduced as frontispiece. It will be seen that the centre of this painting is occupied by an immense figure of Śākyamuni Buddha seated on the lotus throne padmāsana (that is, crosslegged with the soles of the feet turned upward in the lap), his right hand raised in abhaya mudrā, his left

hand resting upon the left knee. The Buddha's hair is blue black with green lights along the temples and eyebrows. His great breast is bare to the waist, but over each shoulder falls his rich crimson red garment which sweeps around the left arm down into the lap and envelops the right leg. The left leg is swathed in a deep green which appears again at the waist. The right sleeve of the emerald green undergarment is set brilliantly in this juxtaposition with the red. Borders and scarfs are emerald green and the belt is of a beautiful blue and green brocade. Śākyamuni sits on a brocade cushion of elaborate pomegranate pattern in tan, blue, and green, and this in turn rests upon the octagonal throne which is made up of panelled platforms and mouldings in cream and green. Flesh tones are a rich tan.

The great Bodhisattva sitting European fashion on each side is turned toward the Buddha, presenting to us a "three-quarters profile." These figures are most elaborately dressed in garments which have long scarfs and ribbons and many jewelled chains. The colours here are cream for flesh tones and tunics, over which the deep rich blues and brilliant emerald greens of cloaks and scarfs and flounces weave a pattern of great beauty. In the high bejewelled headdress of each shines a large oval disk (a pearl?) and a flaming jewel (*cintāmaṇi*) crowns the top. Their feet rest upon large lotus flowers. In the foreground, at the front of the Buddha's throne, stand two graceful Bodhisattvas, one on each side between the Buddha and the seated Bodhisattva. The one on the left holds a lotus with a long stem; the one on the right, a shallow dish full of pearls and green and blue gems out of the midst of which rises a thick branch of red coral. A third Bodhisattva, smaller, kneels (presumably, but the lower part of the body is on a part of the wall that is defaced) in front of the throne at the right, holding up a small glass bowl with a pomegranate in it, while on the left of the centre the figure of a child devotee stands with hands clasped in adoration. A child worshipper appears also at the feet of each of the huge seated Bodhisattvas and raises its arm in salute.

Surrounding this peaceful group of adoring and adored are a number of military looking figures clad in a strange combination of armour and jewellery and carrying all sorts of Buddhist paraphernalia. They are very probably *devas*—supernatural beings. Through the transparent halos we can see four behind the Buddha's throne. On the right next to Śākyamuni is a wild looking dark



Central portion of the Great Fresco from Ch'ing Hua Chén.

one with flying hair and loose collar, holding up a flaming jewel. Beside him is a deva in armour holding what seems to be either a large alms bowl(?) or a kind of drum. On the left side is first a deva with hands clasped and then another in armour with a long beggar's staff, called a *khakkhara*, over his shoulder. The left end of the fresco is occupied by four devas. One in front with his back turned holds what seems to be a sceptre-like dagger, a vajra, in his hand; flowing garments almost hide his armour and his headdress is of jewels. The deva next to him is in armour with the heads of demons on headdress, sleeves, and belt. He holds a long staff, from the ornamental pike-like tip of which streams a long narrow banner. Above these two stands a deva with clasped hands wearing a demon head on his cap. Behind him is a dark, fierce figure with heavy helmet, lunging forward with a long sword.

To complete the symmetry we should have four more devas on the right side. But this portion of the fresco is missing. The hand of one, however, grasping a sword, appears in the lower right hand corner of our painting and above it may be seen the hand and shoulder of a second, with a bamboo pole crossing the background.

In colour the whole is magnificent. Cloud scrolls which fill the background are mostly a deep cream but become a light emerald green when behind the Buddha and some of the other figures. The central figures have already been described. Although the colours are pure and bright, there is so much tan and cream and the spaces are so varied that the result is most gloriously harmonious. The blue, green, and tan passages, especially, have the simplicity and softness of a fine Japanese print. The crimson of the Buddha's robe, however, dominates the whole wall and the figure is so powerfully drawn that it fairly seems to jut out from the plane of the wall in most striking contrast to the comparative flatness of the other figures. The huge Bodhisattvas are in prevailing tones of tan, blue, and emerald green with touches of mulberry and dull gold for variety. The one on the left has coppery red hair. Beyond them the devas provide a rich and more complicated pattern made up of all the colours used, and here appears again, in small quantities, some of the intense red, an answering note of colour which echoes the crimson at the centre and draws the whole picture together in one complete harmony.

A word on the identification of the figures is not amiss. The seated Buddha appears to be Śākyamuni, with the right hand repre-

sented in the *abhaya mudrā*. The two great seated Bodhisattvas are probably *Ākāśagarbha* (Hū K'ung-tsang) and *Kṣitigarbha* (Ti-tsang). Hū K'ung-tsang was "the essence of the void space above," a personification of the air. He is not often met with in Chinese art except in this common triad, with Ti-tsang, attendant upon Śākyamuni. But his companion, Ti-tsang, was a great favourite, especially after the seventh century, when the *sūtra* telling of his vow to help mankind had been translated from the Sanskrit into Chinese. Indeed, his popularity almost equalled that of Kuan Yin and we should quite expect to find him occupying the place of honour on this wall corresponding to that of Kuan Yin on the other. The name Ti-tsang is commonly translated "Earth Womb." He is the compassionate lord whose *khakkhara* shakes the gates of hell and whose gleaming pearl illumines the region of darkness. As the *sūtra* says, "When he touches the doors of hell with his staff they are burst asunder, when he passes the gloomy portals and holds forth his radiant jewel the darkness of hell is dispelled by rays of celestial light." The Bodhisattvas making up the usual triads with Śākyamuni are Kuan Yin and Maitreya, Kuan Yin and Ta Shih-chih, Wen-shu and P'u-hsien, and Hū K'ung-tsang and Ti-tsang. The requirements for the first three pairs are not fulfilled, the fourth remains as a possibility. Although the figures themselves carry no attributes, there are various indications that these do represent Hū K'ung-tsang and Ti-tsang. The Bodhisattva on the right is sitting in the position called *lalitāsana* (one leg pendent, the other crossed in front of him), an attitude considered characteristic of Ti-tsang. Moreover, Ti-tsang's two chief attributes are actually being carried in the background by two attendant devas, the one holding the beggar's staff with its loose rings and the other a flaming jewel, as has already been noted.¹ The attributes of Hū K'ung-tsang, who would therefore be the Bodhisattva on the left, are the sun disk and a flower. Perhaps the smaller Bodhisattva standing by the throne on that side with a huge long stemmed lotus in both hands may be considered the bearer of the attribute. In the clouds high above a sweet faced *apsaras* (heavenly nymph) appears with a basket of flowers. Probably the beings whom we have so far called devas are the ten Kings of Hell who often accompany Ti-tsang and from whose punishments the Bodhisattva seeks to save mankind. The

¹ The almsbowl—if it is that—would be another bit of evidence, as it is a third common attribute of Ti-tsang.



Detail of the Great Fresco from Ch'ing Hua Chên.
Bodhisattva, probably Ti-tsang.

two guardian dvārapālas would account for the total of twelve figures of military mien.

Some time early in the T'ang dynasty, or even before, there seems to have become established in sculpture and painting a certain traditional composition for representing the Buddha with two attendant Bodhisattvas and a host of other adoring beings. Over and over again we see it occurring on the walls of the Caves of a Thousand Buddhas; over and over again it appears in the paintings on silk, many bearing T'ang dynasty dates, which were found by Sir Aurel Stein at Tun Huang about ten years ago. The two great frescoes in the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM conform to this same traditional scheme of arrangement. Points of similarity between the Tun Huang paintings and the other wall were noticed in the JOURNAL of September, 1926. We should like to note here the striking analogies between this new fresco and a stone lintel of the T'ang dynasty in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,¹ a lintel which is engraved with a scene obviously, as Mr. Ashton remarks, based on a painting. The Buddha surely is not Maitreya, however, but Śākyamuni, for he is attended by Kāśyapa and Ānanda, the old monk and the young one, which should be a sure sign of Śākyamuni. Dr. Sirén interprets the position of the left hand as bhūmisparśa mudrā, but the writer's attention has been called to the fact that this mudrā was not represented with the left hand. It is true that among the Stein paintings there are several examples in which the Buddha is shown with the left hand on the knee, and that this position has been described as bhūmisparśa mudrā in spite of the fact that the right hand is at the same time in vitarka mudrā [Ch. xx. 009 and Ch. 0051.] The attitude of the left hand of the Buddha in the paper drawing Ch. 00159 is noticed, however, as "left hand clasping knee," and this explanation seems to me to apply not only to the cases just cited but to the Boston lintel as well, and to the Buddha of the new wall from Ch'ing Hua Chên. The right hand of the Buddha on the Boston lintel is in the attitude of varada (boon giving). That the Bodhisattvas seated on either side are possibly Ti-tsang and Hū K'ung-tsang has been pointed out by Prof. Sirén, doubtless a correct identification, for upon the knees of the one are representations of the sun disk, while in front of the throne on each side kneels a little Bodhisattva, the one holding out a large lotus on a long stem, the other offering a

¹ Sirén: *Chinese Sculpture*, Plate 439.

Ashton: *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Sculpture*, p. 91, Plate 53, Fig. 1.

large pearl in a dish, the respective attributes of the two great Bodhisattvas. The angles of the lintel have been crudely cut off, but portions of the figures of four guardian kings remain and three of them display their attributes, so there is no difficulty in identifying them. It is likely that the painting on which this engraving is based was a version of the Śākyamuni, Hū K'ung, Ti-tsang triad very similar to the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM fresco. In the fresco the two monks and four guardians are replaced by the ten Kings of Hell and two guardians(?), the two kneeling Bodhisattvas are made to stand, while adoring children are added in the foreground. Cloud scrolls take the place of the tree. But it is in certain minor details that the most surprising similarity is seen. The plaited flounce around the bottom of the skirt of the Bodhisattvas is prominent on the lintel, the method of depicting the long locks of hair falling down the Bodhisattvas' backs is identical on both. The lotuses under the feet of the Bodhisattvas, the double outline of the petals of the Buddha throne, the brocade belt of the Buddha, the lotus flower held by the little Bodhisattva on the left of the throne, the drawing of hands, noses, chins, and necks, all are strikingly similar. The same "properties" are used, too; for instance, the little glass bowl or cup, which in the fresco is held up by a kneeling Bodhisattva in the foreground and contains a pomegranate, and the vajra (a kind of dirk or sceptre) held in the right hand of the guardian dvārapāla on the left. Bracelets and the lotus flower hair ornaments are identical. With all these similarities noted, we cannot avoid the conviction that the new fresco in the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM and the engraving on the Boston lintel have a closely related origin, not, probably, in the same painting but in two varieties or versions of the subject painted by the same hand.

What was said in regard to the style of the first fresco,¹ which we may call the Kuan Yin fresco for convenience, applies here also and need not be repeated. We may add, however, that among the enormous number of frescoes painted by Wu Tao-tzū on temple walls near Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang (over three hundred, we are told), there must have been many representing this popular triad, Śākyamuni, Hū K'ung, and Ti-tsang. It is probable that Wu established several versions of the subject which, due to the powerful influence of his name, became models upon which later paintings were based. However, since there seem to be no absolutely authentic examples

¹ See MUSEUM JOURNAL for September, 1926.



Detail of the Great Fresco from Ch'ing Hua Chên.
Bodhisattva, probably Hui K'ung-tsang.

in existence of the work of Wu Tao-tzŭ, and since the descriptions of his paintings are so intangible that we know very little of what they actually looked like, we can only point out the possibility of some such reason as this for the obvious similarities of design and detail in this fresco and the Boston lintel.

Very few Chinese frescoes, of early date at least, are known to exist today. Yet literature tells us that enormous numbers of them were painted during the T'ang period and earlier. It was a veritable golden age for fresco. From the middle of the fourth century A. D. (the time of the painter Ku K'ai-chih) until 845 (one hundred years after Wu Tao-tzŭ) the fervour of the Buddhists expressed itself in a remarkable wealth of artistic creation. Sculpture and painting blossomed forth in the service of this religion, reaching heights they have never attained since. The greatest artists of the time, and there were many, decorated literally hundreds of temple walls with paintings of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Among them were, early, Chang Sêng-yu, later, Yen Li-pên, Wang Wei, Han Kan, and, acknowledged master of all ages, Wu Tao-tzŭ. Yet apparently not a brush stroke remains, on wall or fragment of wall, from the hand of any one of these painters! In 845 A. D., under the Emperor Wu Tsung, an attempt was made by the conservatives to abolish all foreign religions.¹ Nearly 5000 great monasteries were torn down and, so we are told, over 40,000 smaller temples. The greatest art of the T'ang period, the work of the most famous masters, perished irretrievably. Of the hundreds of works by Wu Tao-tzŭ, for instance, only one fresco seems still to have been in existence in 1085, seen by the poet and art critic Su Tung-p'o in the Lung-hsing Ssŭ, at Ju-chou, Honan. When the Emperor T'ai Chung came to the throne in 847 the edict for the destruction of temples was revoked, but it was then too late to recover what was lost and when temples were again erected the wall-paintings had to be restored mainly through copies or by memory, as Mr. Yetts notes. Another general demolition of Buddhist temples occurred in 955, but it was not quite so sweeping. When, besides these periods of destruction, we remember that Chinese architecture is light and inflammable, we do not wonder that none of the famous wall paintings have survived. Nevertheless, frescoes of an early period *are* being discovered in China and a number of fragments have in the last few years been brought to America and Europe.

¹ Buddhism, introduced from India in the first century, was a heavy sufferer.

Most important among these are the beautiful examples in the British Museum and those in the Fogg, the Metropolitan, and here. Most of these fragments are the figures of Bodhisattvas or of child devotees cut out from the wall separately and without any clue as to their position in a group, if there was a group. Only in this MUSEUM do we find a complete wall—or nearly complete.

Because of the comparatively few examples of frescoes left, their fragmentary condition, and the lack of definite data as to when they were painted, it is at present almost impossible to place them in their correct periods or even to arrange them in a proper sequence. As Mr. Binyon rightly remarks in his work on the frescoes of the Eumorfopoulos Collection (in the British Museum), "where we have so little knowledge, conjecture must be diffident." There are good reasons for assigning the Moon Hill Monastery frescoes to T'ang, to Sung, or even to Ming. Artistically, of course, it does not matter in the least. If a work of art is food for the spirit—if it is beautiful and powerful and soul stirring—its date is of little importance. Like a Beethoven symphony or a Pavlowa dance, it conveys a message eternal and timeless. On the other hand, historically the date is important. For a people is revealed through its art. It is only by means of art and literature that we can reconstruct a civilization of the past, understand it, make it live again. If we know that a painting is of a certain period, we know, at the least, something of the setting for the people of that time. At the most we are given a keener insight into the thoughts and emotions and aspirations of those who made it and had it made. No one can look at these impressive frescoes from Ch'ing Hua Chên without feeling a closer bond of sympathy with the Chinese of that time and a desire to know more about them and the religion which could produce such magnificent works of art. At present we can give these paintings a tentative dating only, as there seems to be too little evidence available now for solving the problem.

In my previous article, at the time when only the Kuan Yin wall was known, I ventured the opinion that the painting was of late T'ang date, executed certainly after the persecution of 845 A. D. and probably during the very last years of the T'ang dynasty. Mr. Binyon feels, I believe, that the flatness of the painting and its strongly emphasized decorative quality indicate a later date than the fresco of the three Bodhisattvas in the Eumorfopoulos Collection, a painting from Ch'ing Liang Temple, Chihli, in which the feeling



Detail of the Great Fresco from Ch'ing Hua Chôn.

for form predominates even over line design, and which may perhaps be a late T'ang production (although he hesitates to do more than express such a possibility). Mr. Yetts considers it highly improbable that any frescoes of a period so remote as the T'ang dynasty could have survived the vicissitudes of war, persecution, fire, and dilapidation to which Chinese temples, at least in the central part of the country, have been subjected in all these years, and thinks that these frescoes justify "a recognition in them of the T'ang tradition rather than an actual attribution to that period."

It is generally admitted that the Kuan Yin fresco is of a T'ang composition, painted in the T'ang tradition. If so, it must either be of that time, or be a later exact copy (a reconstruction), or a "free version after the old style," made from memory or following the guidance of an old wood cut or drawing. What proves to be true for the Kuan Yin wall will apply to this second one.

Mr. Yetts called attention to the folded book in the hands of the Kuan Yin on the first wall and suggested that the title on the cover might afford a clue to the date. We had been working for some time on this previously, but the third and fourth characters were injured so as to be almost illegible. Experiments with photographing this detail have shown up some strokes, however, and Mr. J. E. Lodge, who most kindly offered his aid, has succeeded in deciphering the title which he "would provisionally read"

佛說消災經

an abridgment of

佛說熾盛光大威德消災吉
祥陀羅尼經

"the *Fo Shuo Ch'ih Shêng Kuang Ta Wei T'e Hsiao Tsai Chi Hsiang T'o Lo Ni Ching*," in Sanskrit, "*Buddhabhâṣitajahprabhâ-mahâbalâguyâpadvindâśāśridhâraṇisûtra*," i. e. Buddha's teachings concerning the dispelling of calamities, translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra (746-771 A. D.). The title on this book is not a later addition; it was executed at the same time as the fresco. Thus I think we are safe in assuming that these frescoes could not have been painted before the end of the eighth century. Probably 800 A. D. is the earliest date which we need consider.

While obviously the twin brother of the Kuan Yin fresco, the new painting from Ch'ing Hua Chên overpowers the former in one respect. One's first impression upon looking at it is that the huge

figure of the Buddha is jutting out from the wall—it seems almost to protrude into the room, so huge and massive and heavy does it appear. The outlines are definite and strong, emphasizing the decorative design; there are no such "tactile values" expressed as are felt in the Bodhisattvas from Ch'ing Liang Temple, now in the Eumorfopoulos Collection. Yet the figure has a tremendous sculptural quality which is especially striking because the others around it are so flat; it has a weight, a third-dimensional element, which, in contrast to them, amazes and puzzles us. The head is not so strong; it is the body which fairly emerges from the wall. Inevitably one's mind harks back to the Italian masters, working with their apprentices, and recalls, too, that the power of imparting "tactile values" to a figure is the gift of the individual artist and not of the period. The lack of it may not prove anything.

The probability of preservation of such huge paintings as these from even the closing years of the T'ang dynasty is not great, but it is a possibility. One remembers that the wall paintings of the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas are all in tempera (with one exception). The surface of the Ch'ing Hua Chên paintings is hard and enamel-like, and although the coarse texture of the clay wall beneath is hardly to be compared to the hard foundation examined by Stein, it is very enduring and the gritty mixture of clay, straw, seeds, and little pebbles makes a sort of tough stucco. A good protecting roof would have kept the frescoes in a splendid state of preservation indefinitely. Incidentally, it would seem that this mountain region along the border between Shansi and Honan is exactly the place where such frescoes might best stand a chance of preservation, for the temples there seem to have been just enough off the beaten track and just sufficiently inaccessible to have escaped the attention of iconoclasts. At any rate, it is out of this very region that most of the fresco fragments recently found have been brought to light. The set of fourteen, mainly single figures of Bodhisattvas, now in the Eumorfopoulos Collection, is said to have come from a cave temple five miles north of Yüan-ch'u Hsien on the Yellow River, a distance of about sixty miles due west of Ch'ing Hua Chên. This MUSEUM has five figures which seem to belong to the same set but are said to have come from Honan. Turin has two similar figures and the Fogg Museum two. If not from the same temple in Shansi, these are surely from neighbouring ones which might be either in Shansi or Honan. All these frescoes are at present considered to

belong somewhere between the middle Sung and early Ming (1100-1500 A. D.). The types of Bodhisattvas are too feminine for an earlier date and some of the accessories that appear in the panels are characteristic of the latter part of Sung, if not of Yuan or Ming. The Shansi frescoes are in a different technique from that of the Ch'ing Hua Chên wall paintings, a technique more nearly that of true fresco but with a soft, chalky surface. One would expect it to crumble and disintegrate far sooner than the hard, firm surface of the Ch'ing Hua Chên paintings. Yet they are, most of them, in a very good state of preservation. All of which merely goes to prove that these frescoes from Moon Hill Monastery *might* be, as regards preservation, considerably earlier than the Shansi ones.

The design of the new wall, like the Kuan Yin one, is founded closely upon the T'ang tradition. The decidedly masculine type of the great Bodhisattvas testifies to that. Also, from the tenth century on, according to Dr. Sirén, Ti-tsang was usually represented as a priest; previous to that, like other Bodhisattvas. This painting would seem to be according to the tradition in or previous to the tenth century.

The Chinese were not given to making exact copies. Even in the case of silk paintings where the two rolls might be laid side by side, the copy was more likely to be what we should call a "free version." In the case of a wall painting the size of this one, the chances of its being an exact copy are very small. Neither does it have the ear marks of a copy; it is too magnificent, too convincing, too sure technically. If it is "after" a T'ang design, it is a free version constructed upon a general arrangement of composition that was traditional and conformed to the old masculine type of Bodhisattva. Old rules regarding attitude and gesture must have been followed also. Indeed, we see a striking illustration of this very fact of traditional type and attitude in comparing the two walls; the figure of the Kuan Yin and that of Hû K'ung-tsang are almost identical. The painter could use the one model for both by changing the costume, attributes, and position of the hands; he could change the position of the feet, he could doubtless introduce all sorts of variations in the matter of attendant figures, he was allowed free fancy in the matter of accessories and properties. In fact, these two walls from Moon Hill Monastery are versions of each other in much the same way that they are versions of some older, well established type of composition, some more famous painting or paintings. We may

guess that the Moon Goddess and Sun God were introduced into the composition on the Kuan Yin wall because the Moon Goddess was worshipped on this mountain. The name might indicate that—Moon Hill. There is plenty of evidence to show that the Buddhists adopted these Taoistic divinities and nature deities into their pantheon. The frescoes of Moon Hill Monastery might well show details not known in the original prototypes.

If later copies are not "copies" but "versions," is not our best chance of a clue to the date likely to be found among the details, accessories, and properties in these paintings? Can we find in the frescoes of Moon Hill Monastery any detail, article, or trick of drawing which could not possibly belong to the closing years of T'ang but must belong to a later date? So far I have been unable to discover in either painting, any one thing which can be considered conclusive evidence that the frescoes were executed later than the period to which I tentatively assigned the first, namely, the very end of the T'ang dynasty. The time should properly be considered as an art period, however, rather than a political one, a period of reconstruction of temples after the destruction of the middle ninth century and before the artists of the Sung era had had opportunity to develop the newer soft and feminine types. Thus if this belongs to the last period of T'ang painting it may actually have been executed at any time during the tenth century. In the MUSEUM these frescoes bear the label, "Probably Tenth Century," an assignment which may seem more satisfactory than "End of T'ang," although but few years are involved.

Most of the details, properties, and mannerisms of drawing may be paralleled in the Tun Huang paintings and earlier frescoes, though not all of them in any one example. Some of the properties are almost matched by similar objects in the Shosoin. There are several puzzles, however. The folded book in the hand of the Kuan Yin on the first fresco raised the question of the possibility of such an early date. It is known that the folded book came into common use at the beginning of the Sung dynasty soon after printing was used to reproduce copies of the sūtras. Among the Stein finds is a beautiful wood block print serving as frontispiece for a printed roll and bearing the date 868 A. D. The folded book surely followed closely after such work as this and it is not impossible that the tenth century saw such books as not uncommon. That point has yet to be established. It may be noted for what it is worth that the

Samantabhadra of the Tofukuji Triptych, long attributed to Wu Tao-tzū, holds a folded book in his hands, and that what appears to be a box of folded books is depicted in an engraving on jade which was inscribed with a date of the period 907-911 A. D. and which Dr. Laufer reproduces from the *Ku yū t'u p'u*, a Sung catalogue of the Emperor's collection of jade, prepared in 1176. It is possible, however, in regard to this jade engraving, that the lines which we take to indicate separate folded books may merely represent the edges of trays made to hold rolls—and anyway there is too much in the *Ku yū t'u p'u* that is open to doubt for us to place a great deal of reliance on any evidence from that source. Most convincing, however, is the appearance of a folded book in one of the Stein paintings, Ch. lvi. 0019, *Thousand Buddhas*, Pl. XVII. As the horde of documents among which these paintings were found was, apparently, walled up in the late tenth or early eleventh century the evidence for the existence of folded books previous to that time is fairly conclusive. Another point which raises a question is the manner of depicting the flame from the radiant jewel held up by one of the kings. This flame is usually represented as a sort of aureole behind the jewel; here it is like a tassel at the end of a rope. A wave pattern on the second platform of the Buddha's throne seems characteristic of Ming but may go back much earlier. Simpler forms of it may be seen on a few of the T'ang bronze mirrors in the Shosoin and on a Wei tablet in this MUSEUM. Offerings of coral do not seem to be made in the Tun Huang works, but there may be T'ang representations of it known. The peculiarities of drawing which appear here and there in these frescoes are seen also in the Tun Huang paintings and may be accounted for in the same way. It does not take long for the mannerism of a powerful artist to become a stereotyped convention in the hands of his lesser followers, great as they may be in many ways.

As in the case of the Kuan Yin wall, this new fresco bears all along the lower part of it the scribbles of visiting pilgrims. Many of these inscriptions of one to eight characters are partly or wholly illegible. The bottom of the wall has lost its surface completely, owing, it would seem, to the accumulation of dirt and rubbish on the floor of the hall. Perhaps about four feet is gone and with it the lower characters of some of the writings which were put on, generally, at about shoulder height. Mr. Quentin Huang of the University of Pennsylvania has been able to decipher a number of the less



Detail of the Great Fresco from Ch'ing Hua Chên.
Two Deva Kings.

defaced scribblings, but as yet has found nothing to give a clue to the date except the characters *Jên Tsü* written in a large hand on the flower vase of the Kuan Yin wall. *Jên Tsü* is the name of the forty-ninth year of the sixty year cycle and might have been written as recently as 1912! There is a faint chance that among the names will be found that of some well known personage of early date whose autograph on the wall (if it was actually written by himself!) would prove that the painting existed as far back as his time at least. There are a good many names among the thirty-five or more scribblings. Others are mere comments like: "Upper wall; leather shoes; the foot; rice; east; day; flute."

A scribbling on the arm of one of the child devotees reads: "This is what is done by one who does not know the rites." A familiar quotation appears, "The blowing of a flute alarms people early in the morning." Several Buddhist phrases such as, "Tao Ch'ang," the Place of the Way, or a chapel; "Ch'êng Tao," to attain Nirvana; etc. One sentence seems to have been scratched here by a youngster who wanted to curse other boys, and reads (the second character is defaced), "The dogs . . . ought to die."

The fact remains that the decorative style of these frescoes is different from anything that we yet know of authentic T'ang work and this is the greatest, and so far the only, argument against a tenth century attribution. Parts, such as the detail of the two figures in front of the throne, are in general character much like the Stein paintings belonging to the T'ang period; but other parts, such as the deva kings, are treated in a wholly different way, quite unlike the figures of guardians in the Tun Huang works where detail never seems fussy or over emphasized. The design, the power and impressiveness of these frescoes we associate with T'ang paintings, but there is present here also a strong tendency toward the subordination of form to line design, a quality which we have always hitherto attributed to later periods of art in China. It seems impossible to reach any definite conclusion as to date until more material shall be known for comparison or some literary evidence shall be found.

In spite of the fact that so many questions yet remain to be settled in regard to these frescoes, it seems best to publish this second wall from Moon Hill Monastery at this time in the hope that it will stimulate the discovery of new evidence and at least add to the amount of known material on the subject of Chinese wall paintings. No illustrations in black and white can do justice to these magnificent

works, however, and it is hoped that a monograph with coloured plates may be issued at a later date presenting clearly all details at present shown too small for study. Incidentally, we are glad to say that we have located a large part of the lost portion of the Kuan Yin wall, which, it is to be hoped, will soon be reunited with the others and may afford some further information.

In closing this introductory paper, let us state again that the evidence still seems to us strong for a tenth century attribution, although by no means conclusive. These frescoes might have been made by artists who were engaged in restoring to their former splendour those temples which had suffered in the ninth century persecutions, or in providing with frescoes those new temples which became established at that time. They would be in a style not yet out of date at that time but far enough removed from the prototypes to show certain conventions. In regard to a later dating, it seems to me highly improbable that these frescoes were painted in the Sung period, more likely that they are Ming—if the tenth century hypothesis proves untenable. Whatever their date these two great wall paintings from Ch'ing Hua Chên stand today nearly complete, works of tremendous power and impressiveness, strong in spiritual quality, a glorious witness to an art and beauty that are eternal.

A LARGE DRUM FROM BENIN

By H. U. HALL

THIS large wooden drum from the kingdom of Benin was acquired by the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM several years ago and constitutes an important addition to the group of objects of modern workmanship which supplements interestingly the collection of antiquities from Benin.

The drum is made of soft wood, evidently a large section of the trunk of a species of palm. The carved outer surface is stained a dark brown. The interior is hollowed out to the level of the lower of the two double bands of incised dentate ornament where a diaphragm is left, which is pierced at the centre by a large irregular hole formed perhaps by battering out the soft pithy heart of the wood. The two smaller holes in the panel which contains the principal carved figure are accidental and due to original defects in the wood. The large hole, if not due to the decaying of the softer portion of the wood, may have been intentional and connected with the acoustics of the instrument.¹

This vessel-like part of the drum stands upon eight legs of a triangular form which arise from a ring forming the base. The whole is carved in one piece from the solid log. It is 25 inches through at the widest, 23 inches in diameter at the top, and 32 inches high.

The style of the decoration and its subject and symbolism closely resemble those of the carvings on a drum illustrated by H. Ling Roth, in *Great Benin*, figs. 151-154. The latter is different in its general form, resembling a rather slender cylinder—the sides are almost straight—with a somewhat abrupt bevel at both ends, the lower resting on a disc-like base, so that the hollow body is not lifted from contact with the ground as in the case of the drum here, which probably has the advantage in resonance. The drum figured by Ling Roth is said to have come "from the northwest corner of Benin territory." This is, I think, significant, as we shall see later. It resembles in the general lines of its shape one of the types of drum which appear on the old Benin bronze plaques.²

¹ See Ankermann, *Die afrikanischen Musikinstrumente*, *Ethnologisches Notizblatt*, III, p. 49.

² F. von Luschan, *Alterräumer von Benin*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1919, p. 190, fig. 313, and pl. 10, c.

Of the old Benin drums represented on the plaques Von Luschan makes three classes: one like those just referred to, large drums which were stood on the ground, sometimes tilted, while they were being played; a second which he characterizes as "soldier drums" in allusion to the European type of small drum carried slung in front of the body by military, etc., drummers; and a third which is usually known as the pressure drum, hourglass-shaped and with two drumheads which are stretched by means of thongs passing from one to the other; this drum is carried under the arm and the pitch of its note can be altered by the pressure of the arm on the thongs connecting the drumheads. It appears that all three sorts of drums were beaten either with the hands or with drumsticks. All these drums are of types which have continued in use down to the present time in the neighbouring states; the pressure drum, sometimes known as the Yoruba pressure, or hourglass, drum, from its common modern use in the old home of the Bini kings, appears in a carving on a modern Benin decorated coconut figured by Ling Roth¹.

Of the drums used in recent times in the state of Benin we have very little definite information. Dennett² says that a "big thick-looking drum" known as Ekun Alwera is beaten in the "father's house" when the Oba (king) "makes father," that is, offers sacrifices—formerly human sacrifices—in honour of his father and other ancestors. Then also the musicians carry two long drums and three of different sizes "like ours in shape." The "big thick-looking drum," which was evidently stationary, being beaten in a shrine in the palace (father's house) strongly suggests the drum we are chiefly concerned with, which is, moreover, carved with an interesting form of the emblems associated with the monarch in Benin. From Talbot³ we learn that the chief musical instruments of the Edo, or people of Benin, are wooden drums, large and small, with skin covers, trumpets made of ivory or of cow horns, iron bells and castanets. All these and others, as we learn from the bronze plaques and from surviving examples of some classes, were in use in old Benin. Talbot mentions a tradition that a certain kind of drum, which he does not describe, and the ivory horns were introduced by king Eware (Ewale),⁴

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 189ff.; Ankermann, pp. 54, 55, fig. 126; Ling Roth, p. 705, figs. 230, 253-256; P. A. Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, iii, p. 815.

² *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 191.

³ Talbot, iii, p. 814.

⁴ *Ibid.*



Drum, Benin. The carving represents the mythical Olokun-King and his arm supporters

a traditionary monarch who may have reigned during the fourteenth century of our era, according to the computations of Dennett and of Struck,¹ and who is said to have brought back from the exile incurred by his first attempt to seize the throne a new form of religion which he imposed upon the kingdom when at last he came to power. Considering the close connection between the ruling houses of Benin and of their western neighbours, the Yoruba—both Bini and Yoruba tradition derive the former dynasty from the latter—it is interesting to note that in Yorubaland ivory trumpets and a particular form of drum were peculiar to the king.²

The large drum figured by Ling Roth, which has already been referred to as resembling that illustrated here, has its drumhead fastened on in the manner typical of the region west of the Niger which includes Benin.³ The skin is stretched over the top of the drum and a long, stout peg is driven through a hole in each of a number of lappets, into which the edge of the skin is cut, into holes bored to receive the pegs. The fastening is reinforced by stringing a rawhide thong through small holes made in the drumhead skin just at or above the level of the scalloping which provides the lappets. This thong is drawn over each peg in loops which rest taut in a notch on the under side of each. The pegs are driven in diagonally, making an acute angle with the surface above the holes; the grooves in the pegs thus being necessary to prevent the upward pull of the taut looped thong and lappets drawing them off over the tops of the pegs. The drum is tuned by driving in the pegs, which would naturally have a tendency to be loosened somewhat by the constant pull of the taut drumhead.

The skin of the MUSEUM's drum and its attachments are wanting, but an examination of the drum itself shows that the drumhead was held on by an interesting modification of the typical method. There are no holes in the sides of the drum but in the rim which was originally covered by the skin there are a number of transverse grooves which do not reach the outer edge but cut the inner in a plane diagonal to that of the top of the drum. The grooves are wider at the bottom than at the top and a piece of wood which was left in one of them when the drum was dismantled reveals itself as

¹ Dennett, p. 234; B. Struck, *Chronologie der Benin-Altertümer*, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, LV (1923), pp. 132ff.

² S. Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*, p. 52.

³ Ankermann, p. 97. See also Von Luschan, p. 190.

the remains of a peg in this unusual position, still firmly held but having a certain amount of play.

The drumhead must have been stretched tightly over the top and was probably confined by a thong threaded through perforations at the level of the peripheral groove which skirts the lower edge of the undecorated ridge at the top of the drum; the thong drawn tight here while drumhead and thong were new and moist would help to hold the drumhead in position, a function which would depend chiefly, however, on the long pegs driven obliquely through the skin into the grooves cut for their reception. The encircling thong, if there was one in this case, would have no loops for fitting over the pegs, for being below instead of above the level of the row of pegs such loops would be without the function they perform in the usual type of fastening, and, indeed, might even tend to pull the thong-fitted edge of the drumhead upwards away from its groove, and thus weaken the whole system of attachment.

In a small drum from Benin, also in the possession of the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, the lappets of Ling Roth's diagram illustrating the attachment of the drumhead are wanting. This small drum has two heads and both are held on by long pegs, driven in much nearer the rims of the drum than is usual, so that they project far above the drumhead. The skin is not cut into lappets, though the edge has a scalloped appearance due to the stretching of the skin at the points where the pegs pass through it. In the illustrations to Ankermann's paper¹ the pegs do not pass through the drumheads; the tension is provided by the thong loops passing down the sides of the drum to the pegs, which are placed at a considerable distance from the rim.

The all-wood signal drum, which might more properly be called a gong, since its resonance proceeds from the striking of the hollowed log itself, is, according to Talbot,² characteristic in this region rather of the peoples to the east of the Niger than of those to the west. No such drums appear on the Benin bronze plaques, nor are they, so far as I know, used by the Bini of the present day. But the Alafin, or sovereign, of Oyo in Yorubaland, the chief and most sacred of Yoruba potentates, possesses one of these, the drum known as Ogidigbo or Ogidingbo, "a long all-wood drum, similar to that used for messages among the eastern peoples."³ Dennett says that "the

¹ Figs. 138-141.

² *iii*, pp. 810, 811.

³ Talbot, *iii*, p. 814.

drum language does not appear to exist much north of Old Calabar, and the Bini will tell me nothing about it."¹ By "north" here Dennett presumably meant further along the Guinea Coast territories in the direction of Benin. Whether or no drum language was used in Benin, it was known in Yoruba² and reached a high development still further west in Ashanti. Moreover, it was not the all-wood drum that was, at any rate exclusively, used for conveying messages



Another panel of the drum. The arm-supporters of the Olokun-King shown independently.

in Yorubaland. Von Luschan appears to imply that it was this "slit- or talking-drum," like those of the Congo and the Cameroons, which was the instrument peculiar to this use.³ The Ashanti "talking-drums" also are true drums.

We have seen that a large "thick-looking drum" was beaten in the palace at Benin in connection with rites commemorating the

¹ *As the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 191.

² Johnson, p. 58.

³ P. 191.

royal ancestors. Similarly a drum intimately connected with the king, the Koso drum, was used, together with a kind of bugle and an ivory trumpet, to announce the funeral of a king of Oyo (the Yoruba Alafin). This drum was peculiar to the king, and was beaten daily during his lifetime to awaken him at 4 A. M.¹ According to Talbot the Koso is a sort of pressure drum with "only a single covering." He makes of it a class of drums including "a special one belonging to the Alafin of Oyo, which is only beaten after midnight, is much feared as it is rubbed over with powerful 'medicines,' and is avoided by all."²

Among the palace drums at Oyo, Johnson, besides the Ogidigbo and the Koso, mentions also the Gbedu.³ In some respects this Yoruba drum, used also by other Yoruba kings and by chiefs of high rank, may have been more analogous to our large Bini drum than the others mentioned. The Gbedu drum is thus described by Ellis: "In important temples and also in the houses of kings and chiefs of high rank, a tall drum called *gbedu* is kept. It is usually covered with carvings representing animals, birds, and the phallus. This drum is only beaten at religious fêtes and public ceremonies, and a portion of the blood of the victims immolated is always sprinkled upon the symbolic carvings, upon which palm wine, the yolks of eggs, and the feathers of sacrificed chickens are also smeared. In this case the offering is to the protecting spirit of the drum, which is that of a slave who has been sacrificed on it. . . . On the Gold Coast such guardians are provided for the stools of kings and chiefs, as well as for the temple and state drums."⁴ According to Talbot,⁵ the Gbedu is "a tall drum standing upright, covered at one end with a skin, usually human, and often ornamented with carvings of animals, birds, etc. It is generally reserved for important chiefs and for the Ogboni club [an important political secret society, of which, at Oyo, the Alafin is the head], is said to be inhabited by a powerful spirit, and sacrifices of slaves were offered before it." It seems likely that the sacrifice of a slave or slaves was not intended in fact to provide a tutelary spirit for the drum but to furnish ghostly attendants for the spirit inhabiting it. In the case of the stools referred to by Ellis, and connected by him in relation to this custom with the temple

¹ Johnson, pp. 54, 58, 121.

² Talbot, iii, p. 815.

³ P. 58.

⁴ A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba Speaking Peoples*, p. 100.

⁵ iii, p. 814.

and state drums, they contained or embodied the spirit of the owner or of an ancestor—the famous Ashanti "gold stool" was the repository of the "soul" of the whole people—and the figure carved on the drum with which we are here concerned almost certainly implies that the instrument was of the nature of a shrine for the spirit of the royal ancestor. The religious conceptions of all these Gold and Slave Coast peoples are similar, and the figures carved on the Benin tusks,



Panel on the other side of the drum balancing that which contains the linked arm-supporters.

which figures the drum carvings reproduce in a simplified form, indicated that the tusks contained or embodied such an ancestral spirit.

The style of the carvings on the drum differs radically from the classical style of the bronzes or that, not essentially different from these, of most of the ivory or wood carvings which are known from Benin. Even quite modern carvings, such as certain ornamented coconut shells used as drinking cups, do not depart so

widely, though minor differences appear, from the old tradition of a simplified realism. In the case of the drum conventionalization has been carried to the point where it becomes frankly diagrammatic, and the principal figure and its accompaniments, while no doubt retaining their symbolic character, have been treated as a mere piece of decoration, interesting certainly in the balanced disposition of elements, and considered from this point of view certainly effective. Short of the entire omission of details essential to the symbolism, it would be impossible to carry simplification much further; while the manner in which this is accomplished forms a marked contrast to the great body of Benin toreutic art in its devotion to strongly angular forms, curves being so squeezed or else joined to straight lines as, in general, to give the impression rather of angles than of curves, an impression which is strengthened by the free employment of sharply cut zigzag and straight-line ornament as filling.

The Olokun-king¹ is represented, practically, through three significant elements of his form, regarded as semi-human: a great triangle embracing his head and headdress, the zigzag ornament which fills the space between the lines forming its double outline being interrupted in the middle of the base to make room for the double line of teeth, which, apart from a slight lifting and hardly perceptible counter curve given to the upper element of the doubled outline, is all that stands for a mouth; the deeply indented line of hands, arms, and shoulders; and the strong downward-horizontal-vertical thrust of the catfish legs, the bodies of the catfishes being crossed, rather than grasped—though no doubt grasping is intended—just below their heads by the hands of the Olokun-catfish-king. The neck is represented by a narrow vertical ridge joining the middle of the base of the triangle to the middle of the line of the shoulders; a similarly tenuous figure of two raised lines enclosing a zigzag stands for the body. The general plan of the design overrules the physical necessity for the support of the body by the legs; their tops are outside the line of continuity demanded by the trunk. The rhomboid contained by a double line drawn across the top of the legs and the line of the shoulders and upper arms, and bisected by the body, forms a frame for the latter and for the two conventional supporters of the king's arms who are represented each simply by a head with conical headdress surmounting a short rod. It is possible, however, that the lines forming the base of the rhomboid are intended to

¹ See MUSEUM JOURNAL, December, 1926.

mark the hem of a wide shift or similar garment, and that the central panel with its zigzag is merely a decoration of this. For this to be the case would imply only a slightly more marked disregard of logic in the indifference to natural spatial conditions involved in the placing of the two arm supporters: in mythology or mythological decoration why should not three objects occupy the same space at the same time? The artist was only concerned to indicate the presence of these two personages, well-known from other and more realistic representations.

The nearest approach elsewhere to this angular style of adapting the human form to decorative purposes is to be seen in certain ivory armlets which have survived among the older carvings. One of these is figured in the *MUSEUM JOURNAL* for June, 1922, figs. 59-61. There is in this armlet a greater attempt at realism combined with much cruder workmanship, but the angularity of style is markedly in evidence, being shown even in such a detail as the plume of the triangular headdress worn by a personage accompanied by arm supporters. The natural curve of the plume is converted into a right angle, and there is only one on a side instead of the two of the drum figure. The similarity of the two headdresses extends to the sideflaps which depend below the ears. An ivory armlet, presumably of considerable age, which was excavated about twenty years ago in Yorubaland¹ resembles closely in the style of the figures in the decoration the ivory armlets from Benin of this type, especially one published in Von Luschan's *Altertümer von Benin*, fig. 615, b. Others of this class are illustrated by Von Luschan between pages 402 and 405. Figs. 623 and 623, a, have the triangular headdress with two plumes, one bent at an angle, the other short and straight, parallel to the proximal limb of the former. The same thing is to be seen on an armlet in Pitt-Rivers's *Antique Works of Art from Benin*, pl. 37, fig. 283, where the Olokun-king is grasping his catfish legs which have a double curve, the heads of the catfish resting on the ground. In Von Luschan's fig. 614, the same figure, but with a different form of headdress, is also grasping his catfish legs. In Ling Roth's drum figure the catfishes are headless, and the tails appear in the place usually occupied by the heads in this mythic figure; his characterization of them as headless serpents is erroneous, the tails being obviously fishes' tails. No doubt Ling Roth was misled by the zigzag ornament; but this appears along the back of the catfish

¹ L. Frobenius, *Das unbekannte Afrika*, pl. 179.

in Ling Roth's fig. 209, Von Luschan's fig. 614, and elsewhere. The form of the catfish's tail may be observed in Ling Roth's fig. 268 and Von Luschan's figs. 623 and 623, a. Various conventionalized forms of the catfish's head, from which the highly simplified form of our drum figure is ultimately derived, are to be seen in Ling Roth's figs. 88, 187, 221, 224-226; cf. Von Luschan, fig. 693.



Face of drum opposite to that which shows the Olokun-King and his supporters. The notches in the rim are for the reception of pegs used in the attachment of the drumhead.

The armlets referred to are in a style obviously foreign to Benin. Frobenius's finding of one of them in Yorubaland locates the source of their importation. Ling Roth's drum, we have seen, came from the northwestern boundary of Benin territory. The striking similarity in its style of carving with the MUSEUM's drum, the lack of known parallels from Benin proper, and the similarity of the general style of the carvings on the armlets, point to a provincial style of wood-carving practiced in the northwestern province of the kingdom of

Benin and strongly influenced by the near neighbourhood of a Yoruban school. The finding of one of these armlets at Lokoja,¹ at the confluence of the Benue and the Niger, may indicate one route by which the Yoruba armlets reached Benin City.

The provincial divisions of the kingdom were ruled by viceroys who were members of the royal family, and the symbolism of the mythic figure on the tusks, the bronzes, and the drums would no doubt be part of the viceroys' traditional inheritance as well as of the king's. The drum is probably a state drum of the nature of that which we have seen was beaten in the "father's house" at Benin when the king "made father," or of the *gbedu* of the Yoruba; an appanage of a provincial ruler who set the mystical "arms" of the king upon the drum either because this was within his right as a descendant of the Olokun-king or because he represented in his province the living representative of the Olokun-king in the capital.

The two figures of the arm-supporters of Olokun appear again, alone and linked by a sort of yoke-shaped ridge proceeding from the tops of their headdresses, in a panel beside that in which they are shown in the position indicating the performance of their ordinary function. There cannot be much doubt, at any rate, about the identity of the former figures with the latter. The summary manner of the representation of both pairs, in which the body and limbs are reduced to a simple line or rod, and the repetition of the zigzag line which separates them in the first case and is repeated, in the second, in pairs framing the simple lines representing their bodies, as if to emphasize this identity—both these devices seem to indicate plainly enough that they are the same personages. Where their headdresses differ, below the "yoke," it is by the substitution of this same zigzag for the tiers of hatched decoration which probably represents beadwork, the form of personal adornment appropriated to persons of rank in Benin; and the reappearance of this wavy line from the back of the catfish in the headdress of the Olokun-king in the same position seems to signalize and stress the intimate connection of this second pair with him and with the first pair, as the first are connected with him both by their position with regard to his arms and also by association with the zigzag which plays so prominent a part in the artificial and, evidently also, symbolic construction of his person and habiliments. It symbolizes, I suppose, primarily the intimate linking or rather fusing, as by consubstantiation, of the essence of

¹H. Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, fig. 249.

the sacred catfish with the being of the sacred king—with rather characteristic naïveté of overemphasis, since, one would say, this relation was already sufficiently marked by providing the royal personage with catfish legs.

In the MUSEUM JOURNAL for December, 1926, in a brief discussion of the character of this composite mythical being and his arm-supporters, reference was made to a statement by the king of Benin who was deposed by England in 1897, which identified this figure and his arm-supporters with Olokun and two other important Bini divinities. The recent work by P. A. Talbot to which reference has been made more than once in the present article provides some further information about these gods of Benin.¹ The Olokun of Benin is the god of Benin River and of the sea. He sends the fertilizing rain and is the giver of wealth and the owner of all property. In this last attribute of the god there is new evidence for the identification of the king with him: at least in theory, land still is and other property formerly was held from the king.² "In the supreme council of the universe the President is the mighty but distant Ogbora, while Osa is in charge of our solar system, but does most of the work through the other members, Ogiwu, Olokun, and Obiemi. Osa is deemed to live in the east, Olokun in the west, and Ogiwu and Obiemi in the north." His location in the west is in accordance with his probable origin among the Yoruba.

Osa, according to Thomas, is the chief god of Benin. According to Talbot he is the son of Ogbora or Ogbowa, who, formerly the supreme god, has been superseded by his son. Osa helped his father in creating heaven and earth; later Ogbora was relegated to rule in a secondary heaven, or place of departed spirits, while Osa lives in Ennimi and rules there and on earth. The name Elimi given to Osa's heaven by Thomas is said by Talbot to be a Yoruba word.

Obiemi appears in Talbot's book as the wife of Ogiwu, god of lightning and of death, the son of Osa. She is a beneficent goddess and is known as "Our Mother." From her were born miraculously the first man and woman, parents of the human race. Osa "ordains birth" but the women pray to Obiemi for assistance in obtaining children and in delivery.

If, then, we are to accept the statement of the deposed king of Benin, whose testimony on this point might well seem to be authorita-

¹ *ib.*, pp. 35-37.

² Talbot, *ib.*, p. 685. See N. W. Thomas, *Edo-Speaking Peoples*, i, p. 91.

tive, and those of Mr. Talbot, whose official position and special duties in connection with the last census of Southern Nigeria are of a nature to demand respect for the results of his investigations, it appears that the mythical being of the carved tusks and of our drum, together with his supporters, is a representation of the three chief actively beneficent deities of the kingdom of Benin, Olokun, Osa, and Obiemi. The attribution to Olokun of the control of the property of the subjects of the king and the attribution to the king of the same control strengthens the probability, for which other evidence was adduced in the issue of the MUSEUM JOURNAL referred to above, that the king of Benin was regarded as in some sense an embodiment or reincarnation of the water god, Olokun.



General view looking northeast, showing the Northern Temple and the central and northern parts of the Southern Temple of Thothmes III. 1. Inner Sanctuary with two altars. 4. Courtyard with two large tables and one small table of brick. 5. Room north of Inner Sanctuary. 6. Corridor leading to Northern Temple. 7. Room west of corridor. N.T. Northern Temple.

THE 1927 EXCAVATIONS AT BEISAN

FINAL REPORT

BY ALAN ROWE

IN my last report I described the eight main levels on the tell in which excavations were made at the commencement of what has been a most successful season. During the rest of the season, now closed, we have worked only in the following levels: (1) Thothmes III—the level formerly termed "Lower Pre-Amenophis III" is now seen to belong to this king; (2) Pre-Amenophis III; (3) Amenophis III; (4) Seti I; (5) Rameses II; and (6) Byzantine. The new finds proved most important, providing in the form of a number of new types of antiquities, together with interesting details concerning the temples of Thothmes III and a stela with the figure of a previously unknown Canaanite deity, evidence that Beth-Shan was one of the most important cities in Palestine as far back as three thousand four hundred years ago.

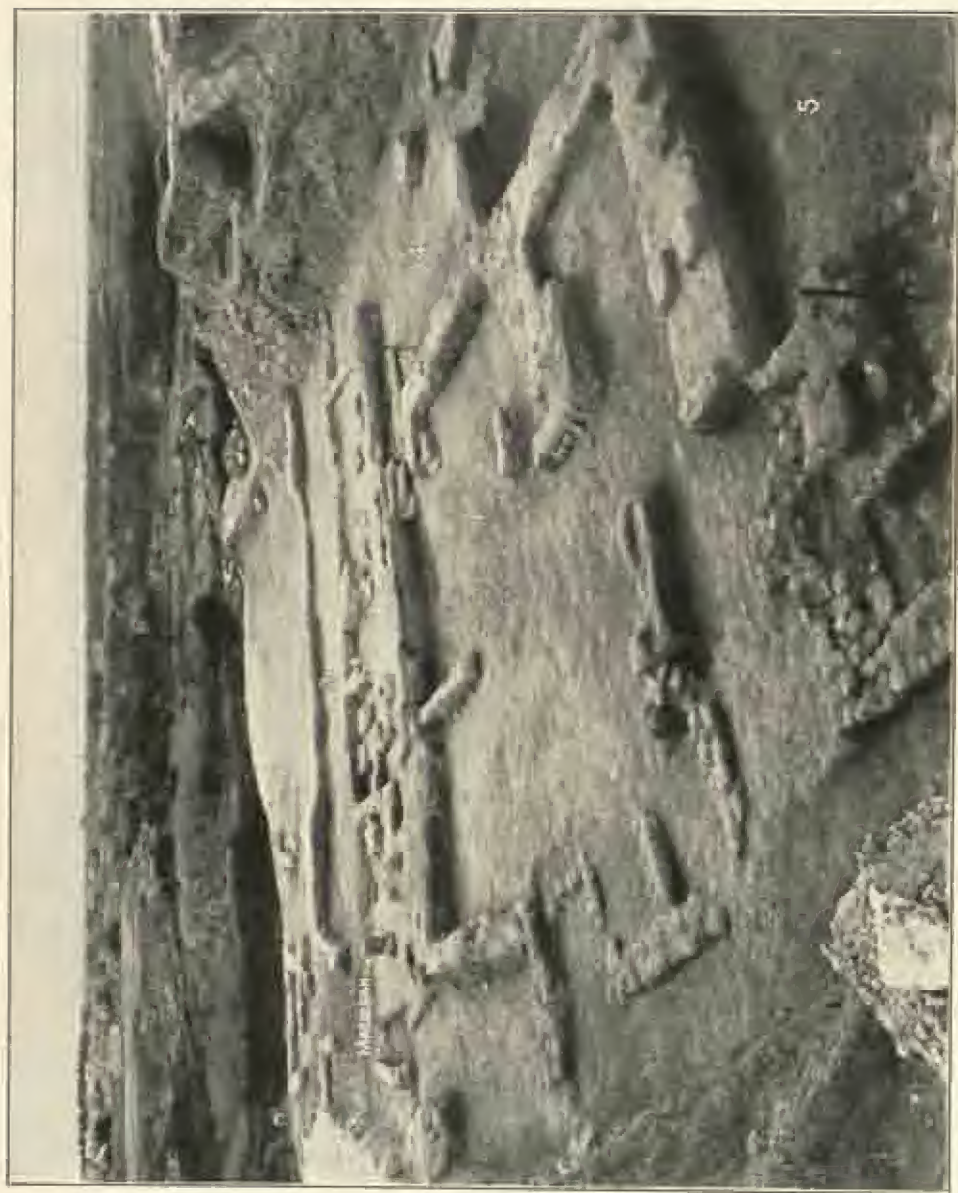
1. THOTHMES III LEVEL: 1501-1447 B.C.

On the floor of this level, which is nearly fifty feet below the original top of the mound, we found two scarabs of Thothmes III, one of faience, already referred to in the December JOURNAL, showing the figure of a bull with the royal cartouche above it, and the other of ivory, also with the cartouche of the king. These scarabs, together with certain other evidence, help to fix the date of the level.

Practically the whole of the excavated portion of the Thothmes III level is covered by the northern and southern Canaanite temples. So far as can be judged at present we have now cleared all the southern temple (the larger of the two buildings), with the exception of a strip along its western side, which will be removed in the coming season.

The Southern Temple

The walls of the southern temple are made almost entirely of unhewn stones, covered as a rule with a single course of bricks. Upon the main walls low brick pedestals of various shapes form an entirely new feature in ancient architecture. It may be that the temple was screened in with wood and that the pedestals were used



General view of Southern Temple of Thorimua III, looking southwest. 1. Inner Sanctuary with two altars, 2. Altar of Sacrifice Room, 3. Corridor leading to Maaduah or sacred column. 4. Courtyard with pole socket for dressing carcases and tables of brick. 5. Room north of Inner Sanctuary showing pole socket in eastern wall. Both poles shown in the photograph are modern.

as supports for the posts, etc., holding the boards. Such screening with wood is an interesting possibility, being entirely unknown elsewhere in Palestine.

The new finds made in the following areas of the southern temple are:

The Inner Sanctuary. Near the altars in the sanctuary were various objects including two well made gold pins of Cypriote type; a steatite mould for articles of jewelry in the form of rows of concentric circles, etc.; two open single-spouted Canaanite lamps of pottery; and part of the head of a cylindrical cult object terminating in the head of a pig. A most valuable object, entirely new to Palestinian archaeology, was lying near the east side of the altar. This was a panelled Cretan altar stand of basalt having a cross with knobbed ends in high relief on its top; in Crete this "star" sign was a general indication of divinity.

The Southern Corridor. It is now quite clear that as the laity were not allowed to enter the sanctuary, which was reserved for the priests, this southern corridor of the temple was provided for their special use so that they could have access to and pour their libations upon the *mazzebah*, or sacred column, a cone-shaped stone object resting on a base of unhewn stones, the whole $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. It was emblematic of the deity, and was found in a little room to the north of the east end of the corridor. About 3 feet 9 inches to the southwest of the *mazzebah* is a basalt libation bowl sunk in the floor. A channel doubtless once led from the *mazzebah* to the bowl, in order to convey to the latter the libations, probably of blood, made upon the sacred stone. The floor around the *mazzebah* and bowl is of brick. There are three small stone bases near the *mazzebah*, one being at the north, one at the west, and one at the east. These bases were doubtless stands for sacred objects. A fourth base, which is built against the west wall of the room containing the *mazzebah*, was perhaps the pedestal upon which the stela showing the figure of Mekal, the god of the temple, was placed. The stela, which was found in the upper débris a little to the west of this point, will be fully described below. Here it may be mentioned that whereas the *mazzebah*, in accordance with Canaanite usage, sufficed for the local peoples as the emblem of their deity, a stela showing the deity in a human or animal embodiment was necessary to the Egyptians who could hardly visualize a god otherwise. As a matter of fact the whole of the Thothmes III southern temple really forms a combination of an old Canaanite



Mazzehab or sacred column emblematic of the deity. In front of it is a stone bowl into which ran the blood libations poured over the column. Both objects rest on a brick platform which is in a room in the east end of the southern corridor of the Southern Temple of Thothmes III. Looking northwest.

"high place," which was usually a crudely walled sanctuary open to the sky, enclosing sacred columns and a temple with altars, etc. Perhaps the "high place" section of the Thothmes temple, i.e., the part containing the *mazzebah* and the libation bowl, formed the original sanctuary in the level, the rooms with the altars, etc., having been added at a later date. It may well be that the *mazzebah* was brought up from a "high place" in an earlier level on the tell.

An interesting object discovered in the corridor was the snout portion of a pottery hippopotamus, perhaps from a cylindrical cult object. A complete figurine of a hippopotamus was found in the Seti I level in 1925. The hippopotamus was of course associated with the god Set.

Room North of Inner Sanctuary. On the northern and southern walls of this room are several brick pedestals; and on the western wall, in which there is a door leading into the corridor connecting the anteroom of the courtyard of the southern temple with the northern temple, there are other pedestals. On the eastern wall also were found pedestals, together with a socket for a pole. Traces of the pole itself were found near the socket, but what the pole was used for we do not know. On the floor near the northeastern *outside* corner of the room we discovered a fine head of a basalt statuette of a personage, perhaps a deity, with a wig. This is Egyptian in origin.

Stela of Mekal, the god of Beth-Shan

The stela found near the *mazzebah* in the southern temple of Thothmes III is nearly a foot in height and about 8 inches in width; and although it is thus rather small in size, yet the information it contains is of great value, as it gives us the actual name and epithet of the god who was probably worshipped in the temple itself, that is to say, "Mekal (or Mekar), the god of Beth-Shan." From the inscriptions we learn that the monument was made for a builder named Amen-em-Apt by his son Pa-Ra-em-Heb, the former of the two names meaning, literally, "The-god-Amen-in-Karnak" and the latter, "The-god-Ra-in-Festival."

Upper Register of Stela. On the upper register of the stela is represented Mekal or Mekar seated on a throne holding the *was*-sceptre of "happiness" in his left hand and the *ankh*-symbol of "life" in his right. He wears a conical helmet with two horns attached to



Stein of Mekal, the god of Beth-Shan, dedicated to a builder named Amen-em-Apt by his son Pa-Ra-em-Heb. From the Southern Temple of Thothmes III, of which Mekal, the Fierce Devourer, was the tutelary deity.

the front. The helmet is Babylonian in appearance, and is also much like the helmet with two horns worn by the god Set or Sutekh (who holds the *ankh* and the *was*) figured on a stela from Sinai.¹ Affixed to the back of Mekal's helmet are two streamers, one at the top, and the other at the base. These streamers, which likewise must have originated in Babylonia, are also a feature of the headdress of various other Canaanite deities portrayed on Egyptian



Cretan altar stand of basalt with panelled sides. On its top is a cross with knobbed ends, emblematic of divinity. From the Inner Sanctuary of the Southern Temple of Thothmes III.

monuments. Mekal is bearded and wears an ornamented collar. Above him, in three lines of text, are written the words already quoted, "Mekal, the god of Beth-Shan." Over the top of the sceptre is an emblem as yet unidentified. Between the sceptre and the face of the deity is depicted some object, now partly broken away.

¹ Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 126, fig. 134.

In front of the god is a lotus which rested on an altar stand, now missing, but doubtless of the same type as that shown in the lower register. To the right are the figures of two persons, each presenting a lotus to the deity, the larger one being Amen-em-Apt and the smaller his son, Pa-Ra-em-Heb. The five lines of inscription above read: "Made for the builder Amen-em-Apt, true of word, by his son, Pa-Ra-em-Heb."



Head of basalt statuette found outside Southern Temple of Thothmes III.

Lower Register of Stela. This originally contained four lines of vertical text, the last of which is now broken away but can quite easily be restored. The text, which is corrupt in places, probably reads about as follows: "A boon which the king gives to Mekal, the great god, that he may give to thee life, prosperity, health, fresh provisions (?), favour, and love, in order that thou mayest proceed in peace to the place thou reachest as a revered one. For the *ka* ('double') of the one favoured of his god, the builder Amen-em-Apt, true [of word.



Rooms east of the Temple of Amenemphis III showing sockets in which poles were placed for dressing the carcases of the sacrificed animals. The poles shown in the photograph are modern.

His son Pa-Ra-em-Heb]." The sentence in brackets contains the words I have restored in line four of the inscription.

To the right of the hieroglyphs are a flower and an altar-stand and also the lower part of the garment of the figure of Amen-em-Apt. Behind the builder is the upper portion of a small figure of a man who is doubtless his son.

As yet we know nothing definite from other sources about Mekal. In late Phoenician inscriptions found in Cyprus, there are references to a god called Mekel or Reshep-Mekel, the latter



Cult object with head of bull.
Amenophis III level.

being translated into Greek as "Apollo Amyclæus" who is usually identified with the Apollo of Amyclæ in Lacedæmon. It is very doubtful whether this Mekel is a later form of the older deity Mekal worshipped at Beisan. The god on the Beisan stela is dressed in the same way as a representation of Resheph on a stela in the Berlin Museum,¹ who wears a conical crown with a streamer and two horns, and holds the *was*-sceptre in his left hand and the *ankh*-sign of "life" in his right. But this god is identified with Sutekh, or Set, whom we have seen characterized by the same attributes; and Mekal of

¹ Max Müller, *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 155.

the Beisan stela may be a form of Resheph-Sutekh. Now *resheph* means "fiery shafts," "burning heat," "pestilence," etc.; and *mekal* is possibly connected with the verb *akal*, meaning "to devour."¹ These attributes of Resheph, then, would be practically the same as those of Mekal, if he is to be regarded as "the Fierce Devourer," whose name perhaps refers to the great heat and general unhealthiness of Beisan in summer. Or it may be that the word *makal* is an intentional transposition of the word *melak* or *malek*, i.e., Molech, the "king,"² the god of devouring fire and pestilence.



Cult object with head of elephant.
Amenophis III level.

It is interesting to note that in the southern temple of Rameses II at Beisan (the "temple of Dagon" of I *Chronicles* x, 10) we found, in 1925, a cylinder seal bearing the figure of a god dressed like Resheph. He wears a conical crown with two streamers and the head of a gazelle attached to it, and holds a scimitar in his left hand and the sign of life in his right. That this god is the local deity Mekal in the form of Resheph there would now seem to be hardly any doubt.

¹ See, e.g., II *Kings* i, 14.

² See *Jeremiah* xxxii, 35.

The Northern Temple

The building which we have called the northern temple of Thothmes III is situated just to the north of the great southern temple, from which it is divided by a corridor. It is not yet fully cleared. There are four pedestals on its eastern wall and a dividing wall running across it from south to north. A flight of five steps leads up from a lower level to the north end of the temple; the purpose of the lower level cannot yet be ascertained. While the



Cult object in form of Serpent Goddess with breasts
and a cup below for the milk.
Ammophis III level.

southern temple was dedicated to a god the northern was dedicated to a goddess—evidently the serpent deity. Nothing of interest has so far been found in the latter temple itself, but from certain rooms to the east of it came three faience cylinder seals showing figures of stags, men, sacred trees, etc.; a faience scarab bearing the figure of a seated person holding a lotus; a small model of a human hand in bronze, emblematic of the god Bes; small pottery models (votive offerings) of jugs, dishes and bowls; a model of a

bull's-head attachment from a *kernos* or hollow ring of pottery; and a wheel from the pottery model of a chariot.

For want of space only the following brief account can be given of the important finds in the five other levels on which the recent work has been done.



Cylindrical cult object, having open base and top, with
plumed head of goddess Ashtoreth in relief.
Amenophis III level.

2. PRE-AMENOPHIS III LEVEL: C. 1446-1412 B.C.

The walls of this level, that between the strata of Thothmes III and Amenophis III, are very low, having been almost completely destroyed by later builders. Brick pedestals, similar to those in the Thothmes temples, were found on one of the walls, this being the latest example yet observed of their use. In the southern part of the level was a kitchen made of stones with a basalt water bowl in one end

of it. Nothing was discovered in the kitchen, but in a small stone-lined receptacle a little to the south of it lay several mud models of cake offerings, some cylindrical and some like a thick disk with a hole in the centre. These were of course votive offerings to the deity—"cakes of the queen of heaven (Ashtoreth)." Not far from the receptacle was the head of an ivory figurine, perhaps representing



Cult object in form of jar surmounted with the head
of the dwarf-god Bes or Ptah-Seker.
Amenophis III level.

the goddess Ashtoreth. Five serpent cult objects, two of them being serpents erect (like uræi) on small bases, one a serpent having human breasts with a milk bowl below them, one a serpent with human breasts and another serpent round its neck, and one the head of a serpent from a cylindrical(?) stand, were all connected with the ophiolatrous practices carried out in Pre-Amenophis III times.

In view of the fact that the excavations have shown that Beisan was the centre of a great serpent cult in Palestine, one wonders whether its ancient name, "Beth-Shan," or "House of Shan," reflects a far distant connection with the old Mesopotamian serpent deity Shahan, Shakhan, or Sakhan. A deity with the name "Sha-an" actually appears in an ancient Babylonian letter.¹ The UNIVERSITY MUSEUM possesses a cylinder seal (ca. 1900 B.C.) showing in male form the figure of this deity who is called "Shakhan, son of Shamash (i.e., the sun-god)." Behind him is the caduceus or staff with two serpents coiled around it.² The deity appears elsewhere both in male and female form. From the various figurines of serpents with women's breasts found at Beisan it seems fairly certain that the serpent deity of the town was a female one.

Other sacred things from the Pre-Amenophis III level comprise the snout from a pig cult object; a pottery mould for making figurines of the goddess Ashtoreth; a model offering pot of mud; a pottery model of a fish; and the upper part of a lifesized head of a deity in pottery. This deity has the hair on the head brushed back and very prominent eyebrow ridges, thus showing Mesopotamian influence. In the top of the head are four holes, in which, perhaps, actual plumes were inserted after the manner of the headdress of Ashtoreth portrayed in relief on a pottery cylinder found in the Amenophis III level (see below). A most interesting discovery consisted of three two-handled pottery cylindrical drain pipes. Two of them were actually found *in situ* beneath the floor of a street; they were both in a vertical position, the smaller end of the upper one being inserted in the larger end of the lower one. The mouth of the former drain pipe was originally on a level with the street floor, while the base of the latter rested upon a few undressed stones. These drain pipes are similar to the drain pipes with handles, of Middle Minoan I age (2100-1900 B.C.), found in Crete.

3. AMENOPHIS III LEVEL: 1411-1375 B.C.

The rooms of this level were generally in fair condition and had many of their brick walls standing to a good height, which was not far short of what they were when erected. Most of the walls were built upon small foundations of stone; while reeds were placed

¹ See Père Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, 1928, p. 138, quoting Père Dhorme's reference to *Cuneiform Texts* . . . , II, pl. 49, 1-4 s.

² THE MUSEUM JOURNAL, 1923, pp. 156, 157.

between some of the rows of bricks, the object being, no doubt, to strengthen the courses. The bricks were invariably laid stretcher by stretcher, and not stretcher by header alternately, which would of course have made a good bond. In spite of this, however, the walls have stood the test of time very well, so we must allow that the rather rough and ready methods of the old builders were excellently suited for the purpose to which they were put. A coating of plaster was usually placed over the faces of the walls. All the bricks are sun-dried, and one of them has a curved line on it, evidently a maker's mark.



Impression of Hittite cylinder seal showing figures of two gods, elephant, ass, etc.
Amenophis III level.

Three Canaanite Streets

At the south of the area was a narrow street, called by us "South Street," which, after running from west to east near the southern edge of the tell, connected at a right angle with another street, "Main Street," running to the north, thus dividing the area east of the Amenophis III temple into two parts. How far "Main Street" continues to the north cannot yet be said as it is not entirely cleared. There was also a small branch street, "North Street," leading eastwards from "Main Street" to the eastern edge of the tell. It is quite evident that the walls of "South Street" and "North Street"

had been repaired at least once. Most of the walls of these three streets were about six feet in height, and it was really an impressive experience to walk between them, knowing that they were in practically the same condition as in the days of the old Canaanites, thirty-three centuries ago. "Main Street" was directly over the street of the Pre-Amenophis III level containing the drain referred to above, and under a street of the Early Seti level, which, in its turn, was under a street of the Late Seti level. It would seem that a certain part of "Main Street" had a vaulted roof, for the tops of its walls at this point converge towards one another slightly.



Impression of Babylonian cylinder seal. The inscription reads "Ma-a-nu-um, the diviner and servant of the god En-ki (i.e., Ea)." Amenophis III level.

However this may be, it appears quite clear that at least two of the rooms in the area immediately to the west of the street had vaulted brick roofs, evidently barrel-shaped.

Places for Dressing Carcasses of Sacred Animals in Amenophis III Temple

Immediately to the east of the Amenophis III temple were two rooms with a long clay socket in each, for the purpose, no doubt, of holding the poles for the carcasses of the sacred animals which were sacrificed within the temple precincts. These dressing-poles therefore served the same purpose as the dressing-pole in the courtyard

of the temple of Thothmes III. The pole in the room next to the Amenophis temple was upright, and had a small circular receptacle of pottery, probably for the blood, near its base, the whole reminding us very much of the pole and pot shown in the Papyrus of Anhai in the British Museum.¹ The pole in the other room sloped at an angle of thirty-one degrees from the vertical, and was no doubt used for animals smaller than those which were dressed upon the pole in the adjoining room. There was no pottery receptacle below the sloping pole itself, but behind it was a small circular basin lined with brick. Perhaps the blood from the animals was caught in a small jar and temporarily stored in this basin until it could be offered up to the deity in the temple.

Finds in the Amenophis III Level

The finds in the Amenophis III level have been particularly rich this season, and include the following classes of objects: (1) *Military Weapons, etc.* From the undisturbed parts of the level came three bronze axeheads, one of which was associated with a beautiful spear-butt of bronze which is undoubtedly Mediterranean in origin, for examples more or less like it have been found in the cemetery at Beisan and in Egypt, connected in both instances with pottery anthropoid sarcophagi of Mediterranean mercenaries. This butt has a crescent-shaped end and is decorated in high relief with a crossed-string pattern. At its top are two holes for the nails by which the object was affixed to the end of the shaft inserted in it. Another axehead, which is obviously ceremonial, had a fine linen cloth impressed on both sides. Its shape is similar to that of certain smaller votive axes of copper, of Early Minoan III age (2400-2100 B.C.), found at Kumasa in Crete. Other bronze weapons include the curved blade of a scimitar, an arrowhead, and a spearhead. (2) *Various Implements, etc.* A bronze hoe; a very well made bronze chisel with a square top; a bronze leather-cutter having a semicircular blade and a short tang for the handle; a flint knife set in a plaster handle (a very rare object); a basalt paint grinder with traces of red colour on it; and three pieces of blue pigment, are worthy of mention. (3) *Pottery.* Pottery vessels of all kinds in large numbers, some of them extremely well decorated, have come to light, and it is interesting to note the presence of Mediterranean influence in many of the examples. Sometimes

¹ See Budge, *Osiris and The Egyptian Resurrection*, i, p. 47.

the handles of pots have marks scratched on them. Among the jar stoppers of local manufacture may be mentioned one of clay having impressed on it in two places, a seal in the form of the double-plumes of Egypt (*shuty*). Some stoppers of clay or mud show quite clearly the marks of the string with which they were attached to the jars. (4) *Scarabs*. A very good collection of scarabs was found, including two with sphinxes, and various others showing



Spear-butt of bronze.
Amenophis III level.

respectively the hawk-headed god Horus, a hawk and a serpent, a scroll design surrounding the emblem of "good luck," and so on. (5) *Cylinder Seals*. These are most important. One of them is of Babylonian origin; it is of blue stone and bears three vertical lines of cuneiform, which, according to Père Dhormé of Jerusalem, read: "Ma-a-nu-um, the diviner, servant of the god En-ki (i.e., Ea)." On one side of the inscription is a figure of the god Ea, and on the other side the figure of the diviner himself. This seal, which

contains the first cuneiform inscription found at Beisan, dates somewhere about the XIXth-XVIIIth century B.C. Whether or not Ma-a-nu-um was ever a diviner in one of the earlier sanctuaries which we must assume existed on the tell at Beisan, it is impossible to say. "Diviners" or "soothsayers" are referred to in *Jeremiah* i, 36, and *Isaiah* x, liv, 25.¹ The Hittite seal mentioned in my last article has now been examined carefully, and I am able to give a fuller description of it than was possible before. On the seal are represented two deities and also an elephant (this is the first occurrence of the animal on cylinder seals) with a vulture above it. Before the elephant stands one of the deities, who holds some object, perhaps an axe, in his right hand. In front of his head is the Hittite hieroglyph which is thought to read "god." Behind the animal is the other deity, who wears a conical cap. Against the back of his head is the hieroglyph probably meaning "fort." In front of the latter deity is an ass, near which is some hieroglyph or emblem as yet undecipherable. Another cylinder seal shows six captives with their arms tied behind them; and still another, the figures of two stags and two sacred trees. (6) *Various Figurines*. These comprise pottery figurines of Ashtoreth; a bronze model of a couchant dog; a painted pottery model of a pig; and a small limestone model of a monkey playing on a pipe. (7) *Cult Objects*. The pottery cult objects found this season have been particularly important. Most of them came from rooms adjacent to the eastern wall of the Amenophis III temple and may originally have stood upon the *mastababs* or low "seats" in the sanctuary of that building. Ten serpent cult objects were discovered altogether, all with one exception (which is a snake's head) belonging to a single type, which consists of an upright uræus-like serpent on a small stand. One of the serpents has represented on it the breasts of a woman, with a cup below them for milk. This reminds one of the representation of a certain Elamite goddess who holds a bottle between her breasts. The following animals and birds are represented on some of the sacred objects: *Bull*. The hollow cult object with open base on which the head of this animal appears is cylindrical in shape, and is about 9½ inches in height. In the old Canaanite religion the bull was generally the emblem of the god. Also the animal itself was used as a sacrifice in the temples, as we see from the remains of the sacrificed bull found in the Thothmes

¹ See the new American Translation of the Old Testament, edited by Professor J. M. Powis Smith.

III temple. *Elephant*. The head of this animal surmounts a hollow cult object the base of which (now missing) must have been cylindrical in shape. This cult object is one of the most remarkable of the cylindrical type found at Beisan. The eyes and trunk of the elephant are very realistically shown. Elephants are frequently referred to in the old Egyptian records. Thus Thothmes II lists them among certain gifts made to him from Upper Syria. An official of Thothmes III, named Amen-em-Heb, mentions that his royal master went to Niy, a district on the western side of the upper Euphrates, where he hunted 120 elephants for the sake of their tusks. A North Syrian elephant is depicted in the tomb of Rekhmara, a vizier of Thothmes III. Elephants were known in the upper Euphrates in the time of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I (1115 B.C.), while the figure of an elephant is represented on the obelisk of Shalmaneser III, the Assyrian monarch who defeated Jehu the Israelite, in the course of his expedition against Hazael of Damascus, in 842 B.C. *Dove*. A model of this bird, which was once attached to a *kernos* or hollow ring of pottery, is of some interest, as it has the tail feathers outlined in red paint. *Duck*. This bird is represented by two small models of ducks' heads broken off from some objects not yet identified (lamps?). One of the most interesting of all the cult objects consists of a pointed-base jar surmounted by the head of the Egyptian dwarf god Bes, or Ptah-Seker. This is about 15½ inches in height, and is of light red pottery. The dwarf reminds one of the figures of the dwarfs with which, according to *Herodotus*, iii, 37, the Phoenicians ornamented the prows of their boats: "[Cambyses] went into the temple of Vulcan, i.e., Ptah, [at Memphis] and made great sport of the image. For the image of Vulcan is very like the Pataeci of the Phoenicians, wherewith they ornament the prows of their ships of war. If persons have not seen these, I will explain in a different way—it is a figure resembling that of a pygmy." On certain seals, etc., we see the figure of Bes drinking out of a jar, by means of a tube. That this was a Syrian custom at the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty is clearly shown from the stela of a Syrian mercenary drinking from a tube inserted in a large jar on a stand, the tube being presented to him by a servant, and his wife sitting opposite. Another Bes emblem, the model of a human hand found in the Thothmes level, has already been referred to above. Further than this, the foot of the alabaster statuette mentioned on p. 427 of the December JOURNAL is now seen to have belonged to Bes. A most interesting cylindrical cult

object unearthed this season has represented on it in high relief the head of Ashtoreth wearing five plumes, reminding one of a plumed Ashtoreth figurine found at Taanach. A pottery plaque having incised on it eight wavy parallel lines representing water, very similar in appearance to a faience plaque of Middle Minoan II era (1900-1700 B.C.) found at Knossos in Crete; and the model of a spherical bread cake bearing the hieroglyphic words "daily offering," complete the list of cult objects unearthed in the Amenophis III level.

4. SETI I LEVEL: 1313-1292 B.C.

Most of the rooms in the Seti I level, in the area at present being excavated on the east side of the tell, were cleared during the earlier part of the season, and the objects found in them were mentioned in my article in the December number of THE MUSEUM JOURNAL. Since that article was written, however, we have cleared about five small rooms of the same level which were above the Thothmes III, Pre-Amenophis III, and Amenophis III levels situated just to the east of the northern temple of Thothmes III. One of the Seti rooms had the base of a bottle-shaped Byzantine reservoir sunk into it; while still another room, not far from the reservoir, held a great quantity of intrusive Byzantine kitchen refuse, consisting of small fragments of bone, ashes, etc. The objects from these rooms, although not numerous, are interesting, and include the head of an Ashtoreth figurine in limestone; the upper portion of a small cylindrical(?) cult object with the head of a deity (this object has a horizontal hole in its top for suspension); and a well-made steatite scarab, showing the figure of the god Ptah holding the *was*-sceptre. An interesting object indicating Mediterranean influence is a pot-handle bearing a seal impression. The seal, which shows the figure of a bearded man or deity holding a club in his left hand, his right arm hanging at his side, is obviously Cycladic. In this level were also found six bricks bearing the impression of a cloven-hoofed animal, evidently a pig, and also a brick bearing a straight-line impression, doubtless a brickmaker's mark.

5. RAMESES II LEVEL: 1292-1225 B.C.

The rooms of this level excavated since my first article was written were immediately over the Seti I rooms mentioned above, and, like them, contained intrusive Byzantine remains. From them came the figurine of a dove from some cult object; a pottery loom-

weight with twenty-four small indentations, arranged in four rows of six in each row, and four bricks with impressions on them. On two of the bricks can be seen a dog's paw; on another a human foot, and on the fourth the hoof of an animal, perhaps a pig. By far the best object found here was a magnificent green stone scarab, bearing the "throne name" of Rameses II, and showing the figure of the king smiting a Canaanite captive, whom he holds by the arm. The king wears the crown with double plumes, while over his head is the solar disk with two serpents. In front of Rameses are written the words, "Treader-down of foreigners."

6. BYZANTINE LEVEL: 330-636 A.D.

The single room of this level excavated towards the latter part of the 1927 season was to the south of the Byzantine reservoir mentioned above. The foundations of the walls of the room, which were of basalt blocks, roughly dressed, were sunk almost down to the Amenophis III level, thereby causing considerable disturbance of the old Egyptian débris. Two of the blocks bear the signs θ and ρ , respectively, in red paint. These are merely quarrymen's marks, each sign doubtless representing a particular gang of labourers. Other letters of the Greek alphabet have been found on Byzantine walls elsewhere on the tell. Quarrymen's marks are also known in the IVth Dynasty pyramids and temples of Giza, in Egypt, where they were placed in red paint on the large limestone blocks quarried at Tura. Nothing of special interest was found in the Byzantine room, but from the reservoir came two well-ornamented Byzantine lamps; pieces of iron bracelets, two of them accidentally welded together; a neck of a glass bottle; and two pieces of flat glass crumpled by fire.

And now over the great mound of Beisan where the chanting of the temple priests no longer resounds there daily floats across the still air from the village mosque the call to prayer: "God is the greatest. God is the greatest. God is the greatest. God is the greatest. I testify that there is no god but God. I testify that there is no god but God. I testify that Mohammed is the Apostle of God. I testify that Mohammed is the Apostle of God. Come to prayer. Come to prayer. Come to success. Come to success. God is the greatest. God is the greatest. There is no god but God." For the worship of the Fierce Devourer and the Queen of Heaven has long passed away and that of the God of Islam and of Israel reigns supreme.

DESCRIPTION OF DETAILS OF PLAN OF TEMPLES OF THOTHMES III

SOUTHERN TEMPLE OF THOTHMES III

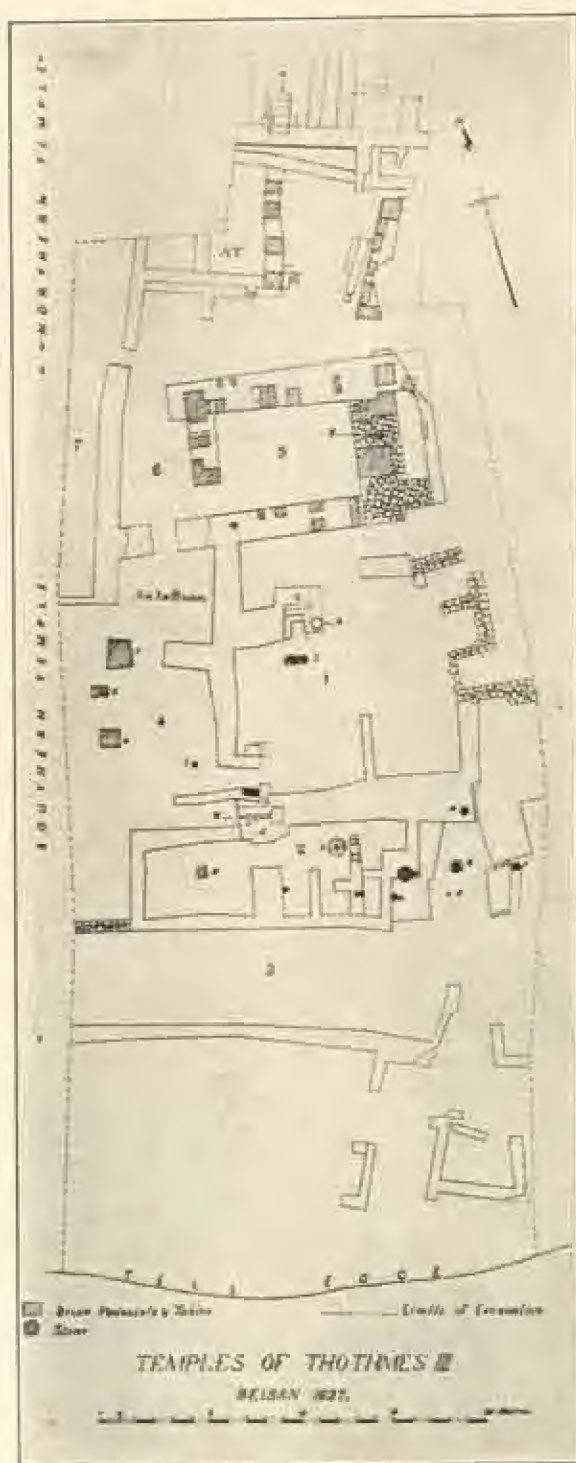
1. Inner Sanctuary with two altars.
2. Room with altar of sacrifice, etc.
3. Corridor leading east to room with sacred column.
4. Courtyard with tables and pole socket.
5. Room north of Inner Sanctuary.
6. Corridor leading to Northern Temple.
7. Room west of latter corridor.

NORTHERN TEMPLE OF THOTHMES III

- N. T. Northern Temple (not yet fully excavated).
- A. Flight of steps leading to lower level.

SOUTHERN TEMPLE OF THOTHMES III

- B. Pole socket.
- C. Brick altar for cult objects.
- D. Stone libation basin for blood on brick altar.
- E. Stone altar for meat offerings.
- F. Brick table for cutting up meat.
- G. Brick table for implements (?) for cutting up meat.
- H. Similar to F.
- I. Socket of pole for dressing carcasses of sacrificed animals.
- J. Brick altar of sacrifice.
- K. Blood channel in altar. In its centre is indicated the hole for the tethering peg of the animal.
- L. Clay socket for pot (?).
- M. Brick pedestal.
- N. Stone base for cult object (?).
- O. Stone base for cult object (?).
- P. Stone base for cult object (?).
- Q. Stone base (?) for the stela of the god Mēkal, which was found near by.
- R. Stone mazzebah, or sacred column emblematic of the temple deity.
- S. Stone bowl in floor in front of mazzebah. Note: Both mazzebah and bowl are on a brick floor.



Plan of Temples of Thothmes III found at Beisan, 1927.

A REMARKABLE STONE LAMP FROM ALASKA

BY J. ALDEN MASON

THE archæologist of a museum is presumed, above everything else, to be acquainted with all types of specimens and artefacts from his chosen field. His colleagues in universities and other similar institutions may largely ignore that field and confine themselves to the deciphering of hieroglyphs or to studies of language, history, religion or art, but the museum archæologist can plan or plead no such restriction; his primary interest must ever be the objective, tangible phases of alien cultures, his aim the visualization of these cultures through the medium of their products.

Within reasonable bounds this popular presumption may not be unjustified; seldom is the archæologist mystified. In a large museum with its full quota of specialists covering every region, it is most unusual when an object submitted for identification or for sale cannot at once, or with a little research in the library, be assigned its proper position as regards place and time. Quite often the decision of the expert is received with doubt or indignation, for it frequently becomes his unavoidable duty to inform the applicant that the old club, well authenticated in family tradition as having belonged to Pocahontas herself, is, notwithstanding, a typical but rather ordinary specimen from the Fiji Islands, that the pottery vessel, the only one ever dredged up from the depths of the lost Atlantis, is a fraud of a well-known Peruvian type or that the little Mexican pottery figurine, while genuine, is so common in large museums that, far from being worth fifty dollars, it would bring but a few cents in the market.

However, from time to time, objects turn up which the experts, singly or in conference, are unable to place. The possibility of fraud is first eliminated or at least considered, for dishonest makers of antiques are so capable today that instances are known of the deception of some of the best authorities in the world. If the specimen passes this test and presents all the earmarks of a genuine piece, it may then be considered unique and assigned to the region to which it appears to bear the closest relation. It may be a peculiar or rare object from a well-known culture or, less likely, a typical specimen from an unknown culture or civilization. For, although

archæology has advanced far in the last few decades and popular interest seems to be increasing, yet every now and then an expedition reveals a forgotten and lost civilization with artefacts of a type quite different from any hitherto known. There are several well-known cases in the history of archæology where such unique objects remained in museums for years, their proveniences uncertain, their origins undetermined, until later explorations revealed the culture of which they were typical. One such case was that of the beautiful Nazca pottery of Peru, of which thousands of specimens now grace the exhibition halls of most of the world's large museums. Before 1901 only five pieces of this exquisite ware were known, having been found twenty-five years earlier, but in that year Dr. Uhle discovered the rich cemeteries in Nazca Valley which have since yielded up their treasure to the art of the world.

In 1921 the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM secured a specimen which never fails to attract the attention of every archæologist on account of its unusual character. Had it come to the MUSEUM without history or record of provenience, as is so often the case, and had it been absolutely unique, it is safe to say that its place of origin would never have been suspected by any authority on the region in question. Fortunately, however, the circumstances of its discovery were recorded, and further inquiries have elicited the fact that three similar objects have been discovered in recent years in the same general region, that of Cook Inlet, Alaska. One of these other specimens is in the possession of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York City, another in the Alaska Historical Museum at Juneau, Alaska, and the third in the possession of a trader in Alaska. Of these, the first three are so similar in size, shape and decoration that only by careful observation of details can one be distinguished from another. The specimen last mentioned is smaller and ruder.

The questions raised by the discovery of these peculiar specimens are naturally these: Are they modern frauds and forgeries made for sale or genuine native objects? Are they indigenous products of the place where they were found or were they brought from another region? By what people were they made and at what period? To what use were they put?

The possibility of the fraudulent counterfeiting of primitive manufactures is the first thought that occurs to the archæologist upon consideration of an untypical specimen. The fact that, as in



Remarkable stone lamp, probably of Eskimo origin, from Kenai Peninsula, Alaska.

this case, a definite provenience is given does not entirely disarm suspicion, for instances are not unknown, especially in the case of the more sought-after antiques of the Old World, where forged specimens, so carefully made as almost to defy detection, have been buried for a considerable length of time and subsequently excavated. The specimens under consideration, however, bear all the earmarks of genuineness; their condition reveals the wear of long use and the damage of frequent handling, and the carving shows none of the telltale sharp edges and striated lines which betray the use of modern steel tools.

The three similar specimens were found within a relatively restricted area, and it is not impossible that all came from the same village site or cemetery. Apparently the first one discovered was that now in the Juneau Museum which was turned up by Charles Ulanky on June 15, 1913, while plowing his field on Fish Creek, four miles above the settlement of Knik on Knik Arm at the upper end of Cook Inlet, Alaska. It lay at a depth of about one foot, and with it are said to have been associated skeletal remains, trinkets and a "coin." Only the bowl and the "coin" seem to have been preserved.¹

The specimen now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, No. 4-9236, was discovered on the same Fish Creek but at a later time by Mr. Vaukey. The UNIVERSITY MUSEUM possesses a plaster reproduction of this specimen, N. A. 4985, an illustration of which is shown on page 179.

The specimen belonging to the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, N. A. 9251, a general view of which is shown on page 172, was found by W. E. Johnson on September 16, 1919, on the southeastern part of the Kenai Peninsula near Seward, Alaska. Seward lies at a distance of about one hundred miles of travel from Knik, making them almost next-door neighbours in this land of immense distances.

The smaller and less typical specimen is at Kaltag on the Yukon River, about four hundred miles from its mouth but only seventy-five miles from the sea at Norton Sound. It is apparently therefore not of coastal origin though the owner believes it to be of Eskimo manufacture and originally brought from the coast. It was, according to reports, washed out of the bank of the Skageluk River during

¹ See *An Oriental Stone Lamp*, on pages 30 to 32 of *Descriptive Booklet of the Alaska Historical Museum*, Juneau, Alaska, 1922. Edited by Rev. A. P. Kashevaroff, Curator. While the final proof for this article was being read, a revised edition of this was received. The article is reprinted in unchanged form on pages 26 to 28 with the addition of two illustrations of "The Chinese Talisman," obverse and reverse, and two paragraphs of text upon it.

the spring "break-up" and deposited by the ice on the bar where it was found.

These unusual specimens may briefly be described in the following terms. Each has the shape of a massive oval bowl with thick bottom and sides and relatively shallow interior, in the medial line and in the posterior part of which is carved the upright head and bust of a human figure. An incised groove encircles each specimen just below the rim. No further details are at hand concerning the Kaltag specimen except that it is of inferior workmanship, is made of a reddish stone, and is unusually small, measuring eight inches long, six inches wide, three inches high and weighing about twelve pounds.

The three larger specimens have the following details in common. The interior floor and the rim are smoothed or polished, the rest carefully finished. The human figure is shown from the bust up, as if it were partially immersed or buried, and the forearms and large hands are portrayed in low relief on the floor of the vessel, stretched out towards the front. The position of the figure may be the same in the Kaltag specimen, although it is described as in a seated position. A straight, thin, shallow groove is incised in the floor of the bowl, in the medial line and running from just in front of the figure to near the lip at the front. Here at the point of the oval, the width of the rim is slightly lessened by a bevel or channeled groove on the inside.

On the rim, which is about an inch in width and slanting slightly downwards and outwards, are three groups each of three relief elements at the two sides and at the back. These nine elements are in the nature of short bands or ribbons in low relief and extend from the rim down the slope on the inside and a short distance across the floor of the bowl. Beneath each of these nine elements, on the convex exterior sides of the bowls, is another decorative element.

All three vessels are of rather massive size and weight, show evidences of considerable use and wear and are made of a fine vesicular volcanic tuff, variously described as gray, light gray, or greenish gray, but probably identical. The Philadelphia and New York specimens are of practically uniform size, that of the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM being sixteen inches long, fourteen inches wide and weighing forty-six pounds, the other half an inch larger in each dimension and weighing sixty-one pounds. The Juneau bowl is slightly smaller and measures twelve and a half inches by eleven inches. It weighs twenty-one pounds and stands five inches high, the floor being one and a half inches below the rim. The specimen in the Museum of

the American Indian stands somewhat higher, five inches at the front and five and three-quarter inches at the back, the rim being therefore approximately level, while the rim of the specimen in the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM is noticeably sloping and the height less, the anterior height being only three and one quarter inches, while the posterior height is five inches. The depression of the interior floor is in each case two inches. The sides of the Philadelphia specimen are more convex, but the base flatter, while the sides of the New York bowl are more nearly vertical with the sides and base meeting at a rather sharp angle.

In point of decoration, however, it is the Juneau bowl which seems to bear the closer resemblance to the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM specimen. In both, the nine low-relief ornamental figures in three groups on the rim have zoömorphie forms representing heads and necks, the triangular heads resting on the rim, the long, slightly tapering necks extending down the surface of the interior of the bowl. As in the case of the human figure, they give the impression of heads protruding above the water, the bodies being submerged. Identification of the animals represented on the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM specimen is difficult, the form being too generalized, but the seal appears to be the most probable interpretation. Five main features are seen, slightly raised areas separated by slight depressions, two ears at the back, two eyes in the anterior portion, and a nose or snout at the point. Tiny incised dots represent the pupils of the eyes and the necks bear each two larger incised dots. Father Kashevaroff says of the Juneau bowl, "Flanking the image on either side and in the rear, in groups of three, are relief images having animal heads resembling the jackal or dog, with necks extending into the bowl and with human arms and legs on the outside." The jackal, of course, is an inhabitant of eastern Europe, northern Africa and southern Asia and is not found in America or Siberia. These rim elements are without any zoömorphie character on the New York specimen, although otherwise identical. It is probable that they have here become conventionalized.

The nature of the nine corresponding decorative elements on the outside of the bowls is even more doubtful. In the above quotation from Father Kashevaroff they are interpreted as "human arms and legs" belonging to the animal heads on the rim. No further description of them is given and the illustration shows merely the upper part of one of them; this, however, seems to resemble most closely



Side view of Alaskan stone lamp, showing relief decoration.

the figures of the bowl in the Museum of the American Indian. The corresponding elements of the specimen in the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM as illustrated on page 176 bear some resemblance to very conventionalized headless human figures, although the writer must confess that no such identification occurred to him until after reading Father Kashevaroff's article, and it is altogether likely that this interpretation is at fault and that the elements are purely decorative. The "torsos" and "arms" are unduly short in proportion to the "legs;" while the balls at the ends of the upper limbs may be considered as hands, no "feet" are portrayed on the lower limbs. The corresponding figures of the New York bowl lack entirely any anthropomorphic or zoöomorphic character and are purely decorative. Their general resemblance to the elements of the Philadelphia bowl is, however, obvious. In each case the figure consists, in the main, of a pair of upper circular or curvilinear elements beneath which is an element of a branching, drooping nature. The pair of rings of the former specimen might be construed as conventionalizations of the already conventionalized "hands" of the latter one, but the four equal draped elements can hardly be derived from the two "legs" by any reasoning.

These three groups of decorative elements are connected by festoons in low relief, at least in the two bowls here illustrated, the description of the Juneau specimen making no mention of this feature. In this case also it is a question whether these elements represent conventionalized natural features; the writer believes this to illustrate the ease with which such false interpretations can be made. The two anterior festoons of the New York specimen, each consisting of a curved band in low relief with a medial longitudinal groove and an incised dot at either end, enclose between them, at the exact front of the bowl, three pendent elements carved in low relief which are obviously the analogues of the triple elements at sides and rear. In the centre, at the lowest point of each loop, the medial groove bifurcates to enclose a quasi-oval element in which is carved a horizontal groove with large central incised dot, the element thus much resembling an eye. These two anterior loops, taken with the central group of elements, at once suggest the conventionalized head of a beast with eyes and snout.

That this interpretation is probably a false one is indicated by the posterior half of this specimen where the festoons, singly in this case, connect the three groups of triple elements, revealing themselves as purely decorative and not as representing half of a face.

The connecting festoons of the Philadelphia specimen are obviously purely decorative and betray no zoöomorphic character, but yet are perfectly analogous to those of the New York bowl. As in the latter case, they are four in number and connect the three main groups of decorations and the anterior point of the vessel. Each is made of a curving band in low relief with a medial groove and is broken in the middle by another element. In this case, however, the latter is composed of two concentric nuclear circles on which the sagging festoon rests, making of the latter, therefore, two loops instead of one.

It should be noted that in the case of the other design elements the naturalistic tendencies, such as they are, are found on the bowl belonging to the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, the other showing no, or the very vaguest, traces of such; this also would militate against a naturalistic interpretation of the front of the Knik specimen.

On the front of the Philadelphia specimen, between the ends of the two anterior festoons, is carved in very low relief and rather inferior technique a rude human face. In this respect it resembles the Juneau specimen, of which the description reads, "Beneath the lip and looking toward it is a human face in relief suggesting the sun or source of light."

So much for the actual specimens. As regards their origin, since this is their first appearance in print except for Father Kashevaroff's short article, experts have not yet reached a consensus. The opinions of those who have expressed them privately form an interesting study in psychology. One is reminded of the opinions expressed by the various hearers of the strange sounds in Poe's *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*. Here, it will be remembered, the local gendarme, speaking only French, believed the words to be Spanish, while the silversmith thought them Italian, a language he did not understand. The Spanish undertaker, however, was certain the accents were English, although he confessed to ignorance of that tongue, but the Italian confectioner inclined to identify them as Russian, although he was not familiar with the latter language. The English tailor, although admitting his ignorance of German, believed the words to have been in that idiom while the Dutch restaurateur who knew no French avowed his certainty that that tongue had been employed. Thus they agreed in nothing except that the words were of a nature different from anything with which each one was acquainted.

The case is very nearly as bad in the problem before us. While no scientist has yet carefully investigated the question and so,

cautious individual that he is, has not expressed his judgment in print, yet privately expressed opinions and surmises seem very much like those of Poe's deponents. Those persons most familiar with the Eskimo region almost unanimously deny that the stone bowls are from the modern or recent Eskimo, and many of them jump at the conclusion that they must be Chinese or Japanese, while the Orientalists as vigorously reject the possibility of Oriental origin and suggest Alaskan Indian, or some other American source.



Cast of stone lamp from Knik, Alaska.

Original in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City.

The discovery of a "coin" together with the bowl now at Juneau would seem to afford a potent argument to the proponents of the Oriental theory. Unfortunately, although it is definitely stated by Father Kashevaroff that Mr. Ulanky found some skeletons, trinkets and the "coin" at the same time and place as the bowl, such second-hand evidence of association cannot be accepted before the court of science which demands careful expert excavation in order that apparent associations may be accepted as unequivocal and not fortuitous and accidental. The natures of the skeletons and trinkets are unknown; had the skeletal remains been saved, the question might be settled by an expert physical anthropologist.

Were the "coin" really such, bearing date of mintage, head of reigning monarch or other unequivocal evidence of its age, it would

afford some clue towards determining the age of the bowl. Unfortunately, it turns out to be of very uncertain date. It is, all authorities agree, undoubtedly Chinese, but an amulet rather than a coin, a talisman of Taoistic connections, expressing a prayer for good luck, long life and riches. Such objects differ little from century to century, due to the static conservatism of religion. So great is the range of possibility that while one expert informs us that a recent Chinese work on bronzes pictures this coin, or one practically identical with it, and states that it was made in the Chin dynasty, 265-420 A. D., another, after a more superficial examination, pronounces it about fifty years old. A third states that he secured a score of similar amulets recently in China. It is unlikely, thinks Miss Fernald, in charge of the Department of Far Eastern Art of the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, that the amulet is older than the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and it may be more recent.

Were it certain that this medallion was interred together with the stone bowl, we should be justified in granting that some connection, at least, existed between the makers of the bowl and the Chinese. It would not of itself indicate that the bowl is of Chinese origin, or that the makers of it came from China or ever saw China or a Chinese. A small object of interesting nature frequently may be carried great distances in trade, passing through many different tribes to reach persons who never heard of the land of its origin. The "coin" may have been brought directly from China, however, in a junk. But even though the medal and the bowl were interred at the same time it would afford no clue as to the age of the latter, for coins of rather ancient date are still in circulation in China. Moreover, there is no way of determining the length of time required for the passage of the amulet from China to Alaska.

Such certain association would, however, indicate some trade between the cultured Orient and America, a connection which, before the days of the first European discoverers, has not been accepted by scientists. For I think I am correct in saying that no relations have been proved to have existed between America and Asia, from the period of the great migrations which populated America until the time of Bering in 1741, except a little local intercourse with the Siberian tribes just across Bering Straits. Although it is extremely likely that, ever since the time when navigation was sufficiently perfected in the Orient to permit long sea voyages, about the beginning of the Christian Era, occasional boats have been driven from Japanese

or Chinese seas to the Pacific Coast of North America, several well-authenticated instances having occurred in the last few centuries, yet we have no proof of such landfalls in aboriginal days.

But granting for the sake of the argument that the bowl and the coin were actually associated, two possibilities must be considered—either that both objects were brought or traded from China at the same time, or that the bowl was made elsewhere, the coin brought from China.

To some of the students of Eskimo life and art the reputed association of one of these unusual bowls with a Chinese coin is sufficient proof of the Chinese origin of the bowl itself. Thus Father Kashevaroff writes in his published account, "The vessel is clearly not of Aleut, or Eskimo craft, as neither of these people have been known to produce any utensils resembling this. Doubtless it is of Asiatic origin and was brought to the Alaskan coast in prehistoric times." He then recounts the story of the Japanese boat "Ukamiya Maru" which drifted from Japan to one of the Aleutian islands in 1793, and suggests that there may be some remote connection between it and the stone bowls. In a letter he further adds, "And now since I have acquired the Chinese coin dug out from the same place I am more than convinced that the lamp came from the Orient also."

The Orientalists, however, are equally dogmatic in denying any suggestion of Oriental provenience. Miss Helen E. Fernald, Assistant Curator of the Section of Far Eastern Art of this MUSEUM, cannot see any Oriental traits in them, and Mr. H. U. Hall, Curator of the Section of General Ethnology, who spent more than a year among the aboriginal peoples of Siberia, states that they resemble nothing Siberian within his knowledge. Dr. B. Laufer, Curator of Anthropology at Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, whose knowledge of the civilization and history of China and the Orient is unexcelled, writes unequivocally, "I have never seen anything like them. I may state positively that I can see nothing Japanese, Oriental or Asiatic in them. I would say that they are distinctly American." He then suggests the possibility that they may be productions of the Tlingit or of other Alaskan Indians. To this suggestion Mr. Louis Shotridge, Assistant in the American Section of this MUSEUM, Tlingit born and reared, takes decided exception, stating that they resemble no form of Tlingit art known to him. In this protest he is seconded by Lieutenant Emmons. The sugges-



Eskimo soapstone lamps of common types from the shores of the Arctic Ocean.

tion has also been made that they are manufactures of the Aleut, that interesting and rather differentiated Eskimoid people who inhabit the string of Aleutian Islands extending across Bering Sea towards Siberia. This theory is ridiculed by Father Kashevaroff and Lieutenant Emmons who are familiar with the Aleut people.

The experts being thus at loggerheads, let us examine the case on its merits.

The art and archæology of China, Japan and the Orient in general are far better known than those of Alaska. A group of vessels displaying a new type of form and art would be much less likely to appear from China or Japan than from Alaska, the archæology of which is as yet hardly touched.

It is unthinkable that an ordinary fishing junk from the Japanese coast would carry with it three or four heavy ornate carved stone objects of an entirely unknown type. The objects which such a vessel would carry would be of the most common, utilitarian character. Neither is it credible that several such boats would each carry one such vessel of a type not before known, nor that, the ships having been wrecked on the coast, the bowls would have floated ashore to be later excavated. An overland journey from the Orient across Bering Straits would seem to be equally unlikely considering the weight of the specimens, one of them weighing upwards of sixty pounds, and the absence of wheeled vehicles, draught animals and roads. In view of these facts, and despite the discovery of the Chinese coin, it must be admitted that the importation of these bowls into Alaska from China or Japan is an untenable theory. Logically, also, it will be granted that such massive specimens are most likely to be encountered not far from their place of manufacture.

Examining the nature of these specimens closely, one observes first that they are made of volcanic tuff. Were the peculiarities of all the rocks of the world known and classified we might be able to settle the question of the provenience of these objects on this point alone, but tuff is too common a material. Suffice it to note, however, that the region of Kenai Peninsula, Alaska, is one of the most active volcanic districts in the world today; tuff and lava must be the main components of the land there.

The general form of these unique bowls is such that everyone who refers to them, whether he be proponent or opponent of the theory of their Oriental origin, speaks of them as "lamps." The

lamp, it should be noted at once, is probably the most characteristic feature of Eskimo culture. It is found among all the Eskimo groups from Labrador to Alaska, their very existence depending on it; conversely no other American primitive people possesses it. The part which the lamp plays in Eskimo life is of such importance that several deep studies have been made upon it, bringing out many vital and interesting points.¹

The conclusions of Dr. Hough, the author of these studies, are of such interest and importance that I cannot forbear from quoting them verbatim: "The conclusions reached are that the Eskimo, before he migrated from his pristine home, had the lamp, this utensil being a prerequisite to migration into high latitudes; that one of the most important functions of the lamp is for melting snow and ice for drinking water; that the lamp is employed for lighting, warming, cooking, melting snow, drying clothes and in the arts, thus combining in itself several functions which have been differentiated among civilized peoples; that the architecture of the house is related to the use of the lamp—the house is made non-conducting and low in order to utilize the heated air; that the lamp is a social factor, peculiarly the sign of the family unit, each head of the family (the woman) having her lamp; that the invention of the lamp took place on some seacoast, where fat of aquatic mammals of high fuel value was abundant, rather than in the interior, where the fat of land animals is of low fuel value; that the typical form of the lamps arises from an attempt to devise a vessel with a straight wick edge combined with a reservoir, giving the vessel an obovate or ellipsoidal shape.

"Finally, from observation of lamps from numerous localities around the Eskimo shore-line, it is concluded that lamps in low latitudes below the circle of illumination are less specialized than those of higher latitudes. For instance, the lamps of southern Alaska have a wick edge of two inches, while those of Point Barrow and northern Greenland have a wick edge of from 17 to 36 inches in width. It becomes possible, then, to say with some certainty the degree of north latitude to which a lamp appertains, light and temperature being modifying causes. Driftwood, the fuel supply, and the presence or absence of materials from which to construct the lamp

¹ *The Lamp of the Eskimo*, by Dr. Walter Hough, in the *Report of the United States National Museum* for 1896, pages 1025-1056, with twenty-four plates. *The Origin and Range of the Eskimo Lamp*, by Dr. Walter Hough in the *American Anthropologist* for April, 1898, pages 116-122.

must also be considered." The specialization of the lamps from higher latitudes of which Dr. Hough speaks refers, naturally, to their utilitarian purpose, not to their artistic or technical perfection.

The Eskimo lamp may be universally described as a shallow bowl containing oil from melted blubber or other fat from sea mammals, in which rests a wick of moss.

The part of Dr. Hough's study which most concerns the present problem is that on the distribution of the various types of Eskimo lamp. As has been briefly stated or suggested in the above resumé, the greater coldness and darkness of the Arctic regions, combined with their lack of wood, necessitate a large lamp with a long wick edge. The typical lamp of this region, therefore, is semicircular or semiovoid with a long, straight wick edge. They are made, almost universally, of steatite or soapstone, to secure which the Eskimo sometimes make very long journeys. Three of these more typical Eskimo lamps from the Arctic coast in the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM are illustrated on page 182. The largest, N. A. 3135, is from Repulse Bay, far to the east; the smaller, N. A. 10246, is from Point Hope, Alaska; the oval lamp, N. A. 6904 is from Point Barrow, Alaska.

South of Bering Strait the moderating influence of the Japanese Current, the greater amount of forested region and the relative shortness of the Arctic winter night all combine to diminish the vital importance of the lamp which, therefore, differs considerably here from the norm of the more boreal regions. Some of the lamps from Norton Sound, just south of Bering Strait, are ovate or sub-triangular and made of tufaceous stone. On the great stretch of coast between here and the Alaskan Peninsula, the tundra of the deltas of the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers, the lamps are round saucers made of a poor grade of pottery, radically different in every respect from those of the Arctic coast.

The lamps of the region of Cook Inlet, the source of our strange bowls, are naturally those of maximum interest to us. This is close to the southern limit of Eskimo territory and the region where the need for the typical, purely utilitarian lamp is least. Several quotations from Dr. Hough's monographs will show the general type of the lamp in this region. "They become oval and of stone in the metamorphic and igneous country to the southeast and southwest through the Alaskan Peninsula and Aleutian Chain. At Bristol Bay, the lamps are oval or sadiron-shaped, finely worked from hard stone. Though some of the lamps are large and heavy, the wick edge is

narrow. The southern Eskimo of Alaska, notably at Kodiak Island and the Peninsula, made their lamps of very hard dioritic rock."

It is on Kodiak or Kodiak Island, the large island just south of the base of the Alaskan Peninsula and just west of Kenai Peninsula, on the small island Afognak just east of Kodiak and between it and Kenai Peninsula, and on the neighbouring portions of the Alaskan Peninsula that the lamps most resembling ours from Cook Inlet and Kenai Peninsula are found. Of these Dr. Hough says, "They are of hard dioritic rock and are unusually carefully worked and finished. It would be difficult to mention better specimens of stone working. Some of the lamps are very large, one in the collection (of the National Museum) weighing 67 pounds. They are oval in outline, with a shallow reservoir, low walls with flat top, the sides are often grooved, the bottom convex. The wick edge is a small groove cut through the wall at the apex of the oval leading to it." This description would be applicable to any of the fine Cook Inlet lamps, disregarding their unique ornamentation.

Two of the lamps from this region, belonging to the United States National Museum in Washington, are reproduced on page 187. The upper specimen, No. 90473, from Afognak Island, is smaller than the Cook Inlet lamps, measuring roughly eight by ten inches in size and three inches in height and weighing eleven pounds. It is made of a fine-grained, gray basaltic rock. No data are available on the lower specimen, No. 90477, from Kodiak Island, Alaska, but its general resemblance to the Cook Inlet lamps is obvious.

Nine lamps from the region of Kodiak Island are mentioned by Dr. Hough, most of them, however, being quite small, four of them not above six inches in length, while the largest is less than twelve inches in length, considerably smaller than our three massive bowls. The largest of these specimens, unfortunately not figured, is described in the following words: "Very finely worked from green metamorphic stone; ovate in outline, with squared edges and rounded bottom, on which the lamp accurately balances. Reservoir deep, uniformly concave; upper edge flat; lip narrow, cut in the edge at the point of the oval. The edges and reservoir have been polished; the bottom shows marks of hammer stone in working the lamp out. This is a splendid specimen of stone working. Length, 11 inches; width, 10 inches; height, 4 inches. Eskimo of Afognak Island, Alaska." Another of the large lamps is "of greenish-gray rock, finely worked and polished. It is oval in shape, broader at the back than at the

front, with almost flat, slightly rounded bottom, upon which it firmly rests. . . . The side, edge, and reservoir are polished. Katmai, Shelikoff Strait, Alaskan Peninsula."

Almost every point of these descriptions would apply equally well to the lamps under consideration. The beautiful lamp from Afognak



Stone lamps from Kodiak and Afognak Islands in the National Museum, Washington.

Island is the most peripheral of those described by Dr. Hough; it is also apparently the finest. Drawing the logical deduction from these facts, one should expect to find even finer types of lamps farther along the coast. One hundred and seventy-five miles farther as the crow flies is Seward and seventy-five miles farther yet Knik. Another one hundred and seventy-five miles from either Seward or Knik brings

one to Copper River, the limit of Eskimo territory. These are short distances to the Eskimo and to Alaska.

Reason and comparative studies have therefore led us unavoidably to the conclusion that these remarkable and puzzling objects are stone lamps, made by the Eskimo in approximately the region in which they were found. The evidence has been fairly convincing and we may be reasonably confident that the conclusion is a correct one.

The three larger lamps, so similar in every respect, must have been made at approximately the same time and place, possibly even by the same person. They must have served a similar purpose and, from their finished character, it may be surmised that they had some religious ceremonial purpose which required their embellishment to a point not desirable in lamps of purely utilitarian office. We should be cautious about accepting the natural interpretation that the human figure represents a deity, before whom burns an eternal, votive flame. Such a religious concept is entirely foreign to the religious psychology of primitive American peoples. It is, however, one of the most fundamental elements of religious observance among the higher civilizations of the Old World. This may be a significant point as indicating influence from Asia, but for the present we will regard the figure as purely decorative.

The wick of the lamp was doubtless a small one, placed in the point of the oval. Whether the groove in the medial line of the floor of the vessel served to direct and steady the wick, or served as a channel through which the oil might flow from the melted blubber, or for some other purpose, is uncertain.

Several other interesting phases of the question still remain, and we shall find the evidence on these less conclusive, and the results less certain, than the previous conclusions. These are: Whence came the example, the urge and the artistic influence which impelled their makers to produce these remarkable works of art? What group of Eskimo produced them? At what period were they made?

Strangely enough, the region of Knik is today, and apparently has been since earliest reports, inhabited not by the Eskimo but by the Knaiakhotana, one of the many tribes of the great Athabaskan linguistic stock of American Indians who occupy the great western interior of Canada, being everywhere, except in this one spot, cut off from the sea by the litoral Eskimo. The Knaiakhotana occupy

both sides of Cook Inlet as far down as Chinitna Bay on the north side and Kachemak Bay on the south side, and about half of Kenai Peninsula, the seaward portion being inhabited by the Eskimo. The town of Seward is near the boundary of the two. These Eskimo belong to the Chugachigmiut tribe whose lands reach from the western end of Kenai Peninsula to the Copper River, the Tlingit Indian frontier. West of them are the Kaniagmiut, the largest and most powerful tribe of Eskimo on the Alaskan coast, who inhabit Kodiak Island and the adjacent mainland from Ugashik River on the Alaskan Peninsula, the frontier separating them from the Aleut of the Aleutian Islands, to Iliamna Lake which separates them from the Athabaskan Knaiakhotana mentioned above.

It is most unlikely that the Knaiakhotana or any other Athabaskan people of the interior could have made these lamps. Although this tribe is said to possess a higher grade of culture than other interior Athabaskan groups, probably through Eskimo influence, yet their culture is considerably below that of the latter. Both art and invention are at a very low stage among the Indian tribes of the interior who possess no lamps, except those of civilized manufacture. They may be left out of the picture; either the region of Knik was originally Eskimo territory or else the lamps were brought a few miles from Eskimo settlements on the coast.

While available historical records indicate no change in the habitats of the peoples of this region, yet since it is only in this section that the Athabaskan peoples supplant the Eskimo on the coast, we may with some confidence believe that this displacement occurred in relatively recent years, and that at the time of the manufacture of these bowls, Knik lay in Eskimo territory. We may also posit the theory that the inhabitants at that time, and consequently the makers of the vessels, were the Kaniagmiut, since they are credited with being unusually good artisans and the manufacturers of the similar though plain lamps from Kodiak and Afognak Islands. They are apparently rather closely related to the Aleut who are also good artists and made similar, though less perfect lamps. In this connection it is of interest to add that, according to Mr. Shotridge, the peoples who came into contact with the Tlingit at their northern frontier were Aleut, not Eskimo.

The peculiar, highly developed and somewhat conventionalized art of these specimens is their most interesting and characteristic feature; except for this they would be hardly distinguishable from

lamps from the neighbourhood of Kodiak Island. The nature and origin of this art constitute our greatest problem.

Among anthropologists the theory, almost tantamount to an axiom, is held that in any culture area the highest development in culture will be found in the centre, the typical cultural elements diminishing in number, strength and complexity towards the periphery. When this is found not to be the case, external influence from other cultures is generally suspected. We should thus expect to find the highest development among the Eskimo in the central Arctic region. This may be true in certain or most respects, but is totally incorrect as regards the art. Eskimo art is poorly developed except in Alaska where it attains a high degree of excellence. Furthermore it improves towards the south as the limits of the Eskimo habitat are reached, and attains its maximum perfection in the region of Bristol Bay and the Alaskan Peninsula, in the general neighbourhood of our stone lamps.¹ This unusual high development in a peripheral region can be accounted for solely on grounds of external influence.

The neighbouring foreign peoples with whom the Eskimo could have come into contact are few, the Chukchi of Siberia, the Athabaskan Indians of the interior, the Tlingit Indians of the coast to the south, and the Russians of the last two centuries. The Aleut of the Aleutian Islands to the west might also be mentioned, but these are related to the Eskimo and differ but slightly from them in culture.

The Athabaskans and the Chukchi may be eliminated from consideration; the former have practically no art, and that of the latter is no higher than, and quite similar to, that of the present Eskimo. Moreover, Chukchi influence would be felt in greatest degree at Bering Strait, whereas the zenith of Eskimo art seems to have been achieved further south. The honour seems thus to lie between the Tlingit and the Russians.

An analysis of the decorative elements of the stone bowls leads us nowhere. A few of them bear close resemblance to modern Eskimo carving, especially that on ivory, but the others resemble nothing in modern Eskimo, Tlingit, Russian or any other art which

¹ "That the general results in graphic portrayals are more artistic among the natives of Bristol Bay and Norton Sound, and improve in delicacy of engraving toward the southward even to and including the Aleutian Islands." W. J. Hoffman, p. 804 of *The Graphic Art of the Eskimos*, in the *Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895*, Washington, 1897. See also pages 252, 253 of *THE MUSEUM JOURNAL* for September, 1927.

can have any connection. The groups of three animal heads carved on the rims of the bowls are especially Eskimoid, similar groups of heads of almost identical shape and probably representing seals being frequently seen on modern Eskimo carvings. One such in the possession of the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, from East Cape, Siberia, N. A. 6491, bears four similar heads, and a bag-handle in the National Museum at Washington, from the lower Yukon,¹ is decorated with eight such heads. The human figures rising from the floors of the bowls are rather rude and unstylized, but they somewhat resemble Eskimo human figures carved of ivory. The nuclear or concentric circle, such as is found on the exterior of the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM specimen, is probably the most typical of all Eskimo art motives. But the nine decorative elements on the exteriors of the bowls, in three groups of three, are apparently as foreign to Eskimo art as to every other art which the writer has examined.

Unfortunately the archæology of the Arctic regions is but slightly known, owing, naturally, to their inaccessibility and the difficulty of working there. Were this well known, the place of these lamps in Eskimo history and culture might probably be fixed. Such as is known throws little light on the problem. When W. J. Hoffman wrote his monograph on "The Graphic Art of the Eskimo" in 1897 he stated that examples of engraved and carved art were unknown in graves of pre-Russian period and this, together with the facts that the art improves towards the Alaskan Peninsula, the region which has longest been under Russian influence, and that the earliest Russian accounts of this region, while full and concise on most topics, contain no references to artistic carving and engraving, today one of the most striking features of Eskimo culture in Alaska, led him to conclude that the Eskimo art of Alaska is the result of Russian influence and therefore quite recent.

Did this conclusion still hold, we might with reason ascribe the strange art of these lamps to Russian influence. The region of Cook Inlet was one of the first centres of the Russians in America, a settlement having been made at Knik in 1792, but the Aleutian Islands, the Alaskan Peninsula and Kodiak and the other coastal islands, by which route the Russians traveled from Asia, were probably occupied several decades earlier. This theory would also explain the presence of the Chinese amulet as having been picked up in central Siberia

¹ Hoffman, *op. cit.*, plate 26, No. 1.

by one of the earlier Russian traders and explorers and carried by him to Alaska.

Unfortunately for this argument, if the advance of scientific truth can ever be considered unfortunate, recent investigations contradict Hoffman's strongest point. Dr. Diamond Jenness, Chief of the Division of Anthropology of the National Museum of Canada, writes: "Hoffman is certainly wrong in stating that there was no ivory or stone engraving or relief work among the Eskimo in pre-Russian times. As a matter of fact, the old pre-Russian art is the best, at least in the western Arctic; . . . I am suggesting that there was a very ancient Eskimo culture along the shores of Behring Sea, marked by a peculiar and very highly developed art that delighted in scroll work and geometrical patterns; and I believe that this culture goes back at least a thousand years, probably more. It seems to have affinities with the West Coast culture on the one side and northeast Asiatic on the other." An examination of the objective products of this old Bering Sea Eskimo culture, however, reveals nothing in common with our stone lamps; the specimens are mainly of carved ivory and, while the design elements have a vague basic resemblance, no definite connection can be seen.

Turning as a last resort to the Indians of the Alaskan coast, especially the Tlingit, we find here the highest development in stone-carving of any aboriginal nation of America north of Mexico. Could we find any resemblance between the exceedingly characteristic, stylized and conventionalized art of the Tlingit and that of the stone lamps, the problem might be considered solved. However, we cannot even be sure of the point that is apparently most certain. Since stone-carving is highly developed among the Tlingit but uncharacteristic of the Eskimo, it would seem obvious that such a high development of sculpture as is shown by these lamps from the limit of the Eskimo region where it abuts upon that of the Tlingit must be due to the influence of the latter. However, according to Mr. Shotridge, the Tlingit had little contact with the Eskimo. Moreover, their traditions, to which anthropological evidence lends some support, relate that the Tlingit migrated to Alaska from British Columbia south of Port Simpson but a few centuries ago, displacing the Athabaskan tribes who then occupied their present habitat. The great Malaspina and Bering glaciers, descending from the St. Elias range, form an almost impassable and unavoidable barrier for a hundred and fifty miles along the coast, one that was seldom

passed.¹ Whether this migration legend is well founded, and if so, whether the Athabaskan tribes which the Tlingit displaced also practised the art of stone-carving, must await the decision of future archaeologists.

So far have our researches taken us, and they can take us no further until the spade of the archaeologist shall have revealed more of the early history of Alaska. While the hypothesis of Russian influence upon the Cook Inlet Eskimo, thus implying relatively recent date for the lamps and explaining the occurrence of the Chinese amulet with one of them, is not eliminated, yet it is more likely that the stone lamps represent the interplay between the art of the old Eskimo culture of Bering Strait of a millennium ago and that of the sculpture of the southern Alaskan coast in the region now occupied by the Tlingit. The art of the lamps shows some distant resemblance to both. The occurrence of the Chinese amulet we may ignore, although it introduces a disturbing factor. Such amulets are said to be frequently encountered in Alaska, and until one is found under unequivocal conditions which can be accepted by science, the alleged association of one with an archaeological object cannot be permitted to invalidate conclusions reached upon more certain grounds.

With this cautiously advanced identification, then, our researches must end. If they have not succeeded, for want of sufficient evidence, in solving the mystery of the makers of these remarkable stone lamps, they have at least cleared the air of the haze of unscientific guesswork which obscured the question, and have afforded a demonstration of the problems which face the archaeologist of a museum and of his methods of attacking them.

¹ See *Ghost of Courageous Adventurer*, by Louis Shotridge, in *THE MUSEUM JOURNAL* for March, 1920, pages 10-26.

SMALL SCULPTURES FROM BABYLONIAN TOMBS

BY L. LEGRAIN

ORIENTAL cults were always familiar with the figure of the nude woman, the "funeral Venus," whose images are found in all the cemeteries of the old world. Local worship does not always explain its origin and character. Most of these images are clay figurines. The small collection of stone statuettes and carvings in bone which is dealt with here is treated separately because it is made of different material, and because it belongs to a late Græco-Parthian period. Most of the figurines were discovered in tombs at Jumjuma, a small village near the ruins of Babylon. Like the terracottas, they have a funerary purpose, and they disclose a marked predilection for the nude female figure. Clay figurines always had a close connection with religion, and entire nudity always has a mythological meaning. Their common character is the place they occupy in funeral rites, and the symbolical expression they give to coarse but positive ideas on future life.

The nude love-goddess was a dominant and popular figure in Babylonia long before Praxiteles introduced the nude Venus to the assembled Greeks. The nude mother-goddess, holding and suckling an infant, is a familiar type in the old Sumero-Babylonian religion, under different names—Innina, Nana, Ishtar, Bêlit, Zarpanit, or Allat. But it is hard to decide whether these little figurines found in cemeteries have a close connection with the local cult, or—which is more likely—whether they have a larger significance in relation to the religious and funerary concepts of the whole country; whether the local idol is the glorification of the ancient nude female figure, or the latter a copy of an idol.

In any case they embody the idea, transmitted to us by Herodotus, of Mylitta the Assyrian Aphrodite, the goddess of sacred prostitution in Babylon, of Anaitis or Anat, the protective deity of Warka. Her cult was adopted by the Persians, especially by Artaxerxes II Mnemon, who ordained the erection of her statues throughout the empire. The Greeks in their turn received her as Aphrodite or Artemis, not unlike the many breasted Diana of Ephesus. Susa in Elam had her oriental Diana called Nannaia in the Greek text



Græco-Parthian sculpture from Babylonia

of the Bible and Anahata in a local Persian inscription. Berosus mentions Susa as one of the cities in which Artaxerxes ordered the erection of a statue of Anaitis.

There is a marked advance in the form and inspiration of these little nude figurines, which is due to the influence of Greek art and mythology after Alexander, but there is no complete transformation, no deep alteration in the cult and rites. The ancient local taste survives in the choice of symbols, dresses, and a deep note of sensuality.

The best book on the subject is still the catalogue of *Figures Antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre*, by L. Heuzey, from whom we borrow many of the following notes. The Greek influence in Babylonia was attenuated by its fusion with older oriental elements. For clay figurines the Greek artists substituted alabaster, which is more refined, with a touch of affected elegance, while the clay figurines are coarser and their makers more preoccupied with symbolism in the first place. The Greek influence continued under the rule of the Parthian kings. The river Euphrates was the real frontier between the Roman and the Persian empires.

While Babylonia did not remain for even a century under Greek domination, history accounts very well for this partial but persistent intrusion of Western elements in the East, and the remarkable vitality of the cultural centres founded by invading Hellenism before and after Alexander. When the Roman power was at its highest, on the extreme border of the Roman province of Asia, Samosate on the Euphrates, the native city of the Atticist Lucian, had sculptors who kept the best traditions of Greek art alive on the frontiers of the Parthian country. Palmyra, late in the third century A.D., welcomed both Greek and Aramæan civilization. Under the Parthian kings, the great city of Seleucia on the Tigris, heir to the destroyed city of Babylon, rich and prosperous with over six hundred thousand inhabitants, always preserved its autonomy. For the younger Pliny, it was still a Greek city with a Macedonian constitution, *libera hodie, ac sui juris, Macedonumque moris*.

In order to avoid direct contact between the Parthian troops and the large Greek population, the Parthian kings had established their court at Ctesiphon on the other bank of the Tigris. Far from being opposed to Greek culture, they took great care of the numerous Greek or Levantine communities imbued with Greek spirit in their empire. On their coins they bear the title *Philhellene*. The kings

of Characene who in the days of Augustus ruled over lower Mesopotamia down to the Persian Gulf, stamped their names in Greek characters on their coins, and in Greek and Aramaic on one of their bricks preserved in this MUSEUM.

According to a report of P. Delaporte, in 1863, of excavations at Hillah near Babylon, a vaulted sepulchral room was found, including six tombs disposed in parallel order. The bricks employed in the construction bore the stamp of Nebuchadnezzar, showing that the vault was posterior to the destruction of Babylon. Masks, clay cones, and statuettes were discovered within. Each tomb had a statuette placed near the head of each corpse, except in the first tomb, that of a man. These were alabaster figurines corresponding to a class of Græco-Babylonian clay figurines, of which they are perfected and richer copies. The relation between the funerary masks and the figure, age, and sex of the deceased is very doubtful, but they all seem to have been of local manufacture and to have had a funerary purpose, in which they confirm the conclusion of Loftus and Layard.

Loftus's *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana* though over half a century old, is still one of the classics of Babylonian archæology, and his description of the burials at Warka in Græco-Parthian times is worthy of careful reading, pp. 210, ff.

"Many small objects are associated with the—slipper shaped—coffins, either in the inside or around them in the earth or vault. The personal relics of the deceased consist of gold and silver finger-rings; armlets, bangles and toe-rings of silver, brass and copper; bead-necklaces and small cylinders. Gold ornaments are not uncommon, such as ear-rings, and small plates or beads for fillets, of tasteful and elegant design. Thin gold leaf sometimes appears to have covered the face like a veil; and one or two broad ribbons of thin gold not infrequently occur on each side of the head. Large pointed head-dresses, Budda—one of the workmen—told me, had been found and sold to the perambulating Jews who visit the Mádan periodically for the purpose of purchasing the gold.

"With the above are articles of a different description such as small earthen drinking vessels and lamps, glass lachrymatories, copper bowls, hideous bone figures, probably dolls, and a variety of others.

"The top of the coffin is often a receptacle for small relics—apparently the parting gifts of friends—as the following list will show:—seven different forms of fragile coloured glass bottles, two

curiously formed yellow glass dishes, a glass terracotta lamp (a constant accompaniment), four bone stilettos, two iron implements, the bones of a small bird, fragments of a bunch of flowers, and an ornamental reed basket (the plaits of the reeds being quite distinct) containing two pieces of khol or black paint for the eyelids, and a tassel bead. Judging from their character, these articles appear to have been the property of a female.



2

Marble figure of a young goddess
Northern Syria
Greco-Parthian Period

"Strewed in the earth around the coffins are numerous copper coins, the only articles which afford any positive clue to their age. . . . The types are extremely indistinct, but no doubt is entertained of their being Parthian. Close to the foot of each coffin are one or more large glazed water-jugs and earthen drinking cups, of extremely artistic form. One . . . tall jug was found in a recess built for its reception in the side wall of the vault, within arm's length of the coffin. The bones of a fowl with a flint and steel were also frequently deposited upon the lid. The practice of placing food and water near

the body was certainly connected with the superstitious of the period. The same practice is, I believe, continued among the Arabs, who conceive that these articles are necessary to give the spirit strength on its long journey.

"Some of the most interesting objects found in the same position are small terra-cotta figurines, which were probably household divinities. Many are undoubtedly Parthian; such, for instance, as the reclining warrior, with a cup (?) in his left hand, wearing a coat of mail or a padded tunic reaching to the knees and a helmet ornamented in front. The whole costume is well represented on many coins of the Parthian epoch.

"Several are female figures in loose attire exhibiting strange headdresses, which, doubtless, give us some notion of the costume of the period. One of these is very remarkable; it rises into two tall conical peaks, from which depends a veil, reminding one strongly of the English ladies' costume in the time of Henry IV. Nude female figures, probably representing the Mylitta or Venus of the Assyrians, were extremely common at the Parthian period, having been handed down from antiquity. Similar figures are universal throughout the East before the Christian era. A few figures bear traces of colour."

Some clay heads "are most interesting. They are infinitely superior to the rest in point of design and execution and mark the rapidly spreading influence of Greek art. They possess all the characteristic features and boldness of the Greek face and yet they can scarcely be other than the works of Babylonian artists. The hair is arranged in long ringlets and the heads are surmounted by lofty headdresses of different form.

"It would be endless to give in detail all the small articles which were discovered in connection with the slipper coffins."

Clay, bone, or alabaster dolls were found in tombs of Hillah. They are nude figurines, with legs close together, and no base to stand upon. Their shoulders are bored through to attach a mobile arm. The use of dolls or articulated figures has a complex significance both religious and magic, as being an imitation of life. The same observation applies to all clay figures and to images in general.

Some alabaster dolls have a hieratic attitude. Their right arm is bent forward, the hand open, as if ready to receive the offering. The prettiest were covered with gold ornaments, and had semi-precious stones inlaid in the eye sockets and navel, to add life and

colour to their voluptuous nudity. Clay dolls have only masses of hair confined by a turban adorned with studs. They are a cheap reproduction of the better models, but their symbolism is the same. Nearly all show traces of a stucco coating in imitation of alabaster. On the white slip details were worked out with the point, and saliences of the body were accentuated in pink, marking the ribs, the folds of flesh, the sex, and the division of the legs. Several dolls with fixed arms copy the traditional attitude of the antique Venus, arranging the hair with one hand, and covering the breast with the other.



Side view

3

Front view

Marble head of a young goddess
Northern Syria
Greco-Parthian Period

Funerary dolls are the direct descendants of the older Persian and Babylonian nude figures of Annaitis, Ishtar, Innina, or other forms of the goddess of love. She was long popular with the Parthian, and is still reproduced as the "celestial goddess" on the coins of Musa, the mother of Phraates, in the first century.

Other figurines found at Hillah show women lying on a couch, resting on an elbow in the attitude of the guest at a banquet. They wear a high peaked cap, not unlike the Phrygian cap adopted by Greek art as the proper headdress of the mythological beings, especially of those from Eastern regions. The cap in the alabaster figures is sometimes gilded, or the hair is uncovered and tied on the top of the

head in a bow after the fashion of Venus and other young goddesses of the Western Olympus. Some figures are entirely nude, or draped only about the lower limbs with a tight-fitting shawl, as is common in the Greek representations of Venus. They usually lean on a cushion, and the bed with its four legs is sometimes represented in terracotta reliefs. The figure of the deceased dressed in his best garments and resting on a couch like a guest at an eternal banquet is familiar throughout antiquity. The gods also were treated to sacred banquets and their statues placed on ceremonial beds on solemn festival days. On the top of the stage tower of Babylon, there was an empty shrine containing only a table and a magnificent bed on which the god Marduk was supposed to take his rest at night while visiting the high priestess.

We may therefore consider these nude alabaster figures which in the late period were placed near the head of the dead as so many funeral goddesses, one a love goddess, the other a mother goddess, according to an ancient Babylonian tradition modified by Greek custom, which through a mythological interpretation saw the spirit of the dead absorbed into their divinity.

The same must be said of alabaster children's figures found in tombs at Hillah. A nude boy is represented sitting on a small bench, his left leg folded under him. A stucco headdress is added, having two golden bullæ like the berries on the ivy crown of Bacchus. He grasps with both hands a pine cone or a grape at which a bird is pecking, or which a snake tries to bite. He may have wings like Eros, and his headdress has three points or rays, which may represent curls of hair, or through a fusion of symbols in a late period may combine a peaked cap with ivy leaves. Sometimes it is only a hollow bust with a loose clay ball inside, both a funerary amulet and a rattle.

The connection of the child with folded legs with the images of the young Horus in Egypt and with the other infant gods like Bacchus, Athys, Adonis, was established long ago. In Carthage he holds in his hands the dove of love. In Babylon he was Tammuz, the newly born god of love, whom Ishtar brings back from Hades.

Funerary gold masks found in Nineveh, in Syria, in Hillah, and in Nippur are not unlike the masks the Egyptians used to place on the face of the mummies. They preserve the likeness of the dead when his flesh has decayed, and afford an abode for his spirit. Masks with a hole for suspension, also found in tombs, some representing bearded and grinning faces, some graceful girls or children, or even

animals, were protective emblems, with some of the virtues of the original mysteriously attached to them.

The nude figurines and the dolls of the Græco-Parthian period, abundant in tombs, have more perfection and elegance, but also a banality due to the lack of inspiration in epochs of decadence. Their sex is indicated with the reserve usual in Greece but remote from the old Babylonian realism.

There are several types of the nude Babylonian woman. One keeps her hands joined before her in a respectful, passive attitude. The other has them slightly raised, supporting or pressing her breasts. She is undoubtedly the servant of love, presenting herself—*stat nuda*. This is also one of the attributes of Ishtar, the sacred prostitute of the gods. In both cases she stands up adorned only with her jewels, the locks of her hair falling on her shoulders. Sex and navel are conspicuously indicated, the pubes being a large triangular patch bordered by incised lines inclosing markings. This is also the pictograph for woman in the cuneiform writing from the earliest times. We must therefore see in these figurines an image of life, an emblem of fruitfulness, in connection with the idea of perfect womanhood. They are conformed to the most primitive instinct of man, and answer to the very name given by Adam in paradise to Eve, when both were naked and unashamed.

Later, the nude female figure was more closely associated with the divinity. It is raised on a base and must have been an object of cult. The goddess of love is borne on an animal—usually the lion—pressing her breasts or unveiling herself, and it is difficult not to recognize a nude goddess. But the magical and symbolical character of the nude woman as a token of life, an emblem of fruitfulness, and, in the tomb, as a protest against decay and an emblem of resurrection, has a large human interest that cannot be limited to the reproduction of one type of idol. The nude female figure with its secret and talismanic character existed long before it was transformed into the love goddess and made an object of cult. Far from being all images of Ishtar, the nude figurines were her model.

As a rule human representations of the gods are relatively recent. A symbol, animal, weapon, or raised stone, was at first the all-sufficient object of cult, marking the presence of the superhuman power. The oldest shrine of the love goddess may have enclosed a betyl, with perhaps a triangle incised on the surface. In the Nippur collection of terracottas there is at least one fragment—CBS. 15426—on record as



4

Ainbaster statue
Babylonian
Graco-Parthian Period

being found fifteen feet below the level of Naram-Sin, and therefore anterior to B.C. 3000. It bears the triangular patch, with interior markings and traces of red colour. The rude figurine when complete was perhaps a votive offering for childbirth, or, at the time of puberty, a substitute for herself made by a Sumerian votary to the shrine; but it can scarcely be called an idol or an image of the love goddess, since probably in these early days there was no image of the goddess.

On seal cylinders the figure of the nude woman holding her breasts is not found long before B.C. 2000, precisely when the Western Amorite influence began to be preponderant in Babylonia. Northern Syria is known as the home of the great mother goddess, the nude goddess unveiling herself. But on the Babylonian seals, the nude figure is always an accessory person, drawn on a minor scale, and taking no interest in the main scene of worship. She can in no way compare with the older gods of Babylonia, who never go about nude, but are kings and queens, and never forget their mitre adorned with one or four pairs of horns, by which they are distinguished from any human being. They bear also a sceptre and wear rings, carry various weapons, and are clad in the finest royal garments. The only nude royal figure is that of Gilgamesh, a hero and a king, but he never wears the divine horns. At the utmost a little base of bricks which is sometimes placed under the feet of the nude female figure may suggest her transformation into an idol.

Ishtar, as a goddess not of love, but of war, is fully dressed and armed, and is represented on seal cylinders and rock reliefs in authentic portraits long before the nude love goddess. She wears a shawl tied about her waist, falling to the ankles, and opening in front to give play to her bare leg in action. Above the knee is seen the lower edge of a short tunic or cuirass which has short sleeves. Quivers full of arrows and darts are crossed on her shoulders. She wields battleaxe and scimitar. As a remnant of feminine vanity, she wears below the horned mitre her long curls falling on her shoulders, while more matronly deities tie them up in a knot on the neck.

There is another Ishtar of the legend, the queen of love, who very much resembles our nude figurines, as she goes down to Hades in quest of her dead lover. At each of the seven gates she drops in turn one of her ornaments: tiara, earrings, necklace, breastplate, belt, bracelets, and anklets, until she has left only her loin cloth, which also she must discard before entering Hades. We do not know how far back the legend can be traced. Stone monuments

and clay figurines give no evidence of it before B.C. 2000. Its connection with burials has certainly its deepest and most poetical expression in the myth of Ishtar and Tammuz.

"That which thou sowest, is not quickened, except it die."

There are other figures of a nude woman as a nurse, holding or suckling a child. One of the most beautiful types may even be dated at about B.C. 2400. But it is impossible to show that we have in it a reproduction of any famous idol, like the mother goddess of Warka. These figures have been found throughout Babylonia and have nothing by which to identify them aside from their pure and beautiful humanity. Another example of the nursing mother is completely dressed in a long flounced robe, with her hair simply tied by a fillet. A nude female figure pressing her breasts is represented on a terracotta from Nippur as lying on her back on a low bed. In an example in the Yale Collection the bed is covered with a rug. A couple lying on a bed is seen on a terracotta of the British Museum. These nude figures are very human, and their symbolical and religious meaning does not transform them into idols. Archaeological truth is the result of a series of observations and comparisons between a large number of examples, and it cannot be anticipated.

1. Alabaster statuette. A nude female figure of the most charming grace and beautifully modelled. Arms and body are unfortunately broken off below the breasts. The head is slightly inclined, the neck with its two folds in front, the shoulders and shoulder blades, and the firm round breasts are cut out of the luscious alabaster by a masterly hand with a vivid sense of life, in the best tradition of Greek art. The large eyes were originally inlaid with precious stones and must have added a new light to the beautiful though rather short and round face. The nose is almost straight, but its tip has been broken off. The hair is parted and waved and tied on the nape of the neck in two large masses of short curls after the fashion of the Roman ladies of the first century. If there were any gold ornaments, they have disappeared and left the statuette in its simple and delightful grace as it came from the hands of the sculptor.

CBS. 3988. Presented to the first Nippur Expedition in 1889 by Mr. Coleman, engineer, as coming from Babylon.
60 × 34 mm.

2. Nude figure of a young goddess. With one hand she is covering her breast. The other was probably held in the traditional attitude of the Greek Venus, represented on terracotta reliefs decorating slipper shaped coffins of the Græco-Parthian period. Unfortunately the right arm and the lower part of the body are broken off. The hair is parted and waved and falls in long tresses on the shoulders. It is also tied in a bow above the head after the style



Statuettes from Babylonia
Græco-Parthian Period

of other young goddesses. One shoulder is slightly depressed, conveying a feeling of action and life unknown in the older hieratic statuettes of Babylonia.

CBS. 9368. Bought by J. Haynes in North Syria before 1899.
White marble. 125 X 84 mm.

3. White marble head of a young goddess, of the Græco-Parthian period. Above her parted and waved hair she wears a high mitre

or calathos adorned in front with a semicircle between straight lines which probably represent a metal band.

CBS. 9365. Bought by J. Haynes in North Syria before 1899.
80 × 48 mm.



10



11



12



10

Bone figurines
Babylonia
Græco-Parthian Period

4. Nude female figure reclining on a bed. The lower limbs are partly covered with a thin drapery. The other end of the same long veil or scarf is thrown over the left arm and the light fluffy material sets off by contrast the complete nudity of the woman. She is another Venus resting confident in the triumph of her perfect beauty. The arms were worked separately and attached. The right arm,

stretching along the right side, probably held a fruit or a flower. The left was pillowed on a cushion now wanting. The back of the head was roughly cut and is still covered with white stucco, showing that some separate ornament, a fillet or crown, was added, in metal or painted plaster. The alabaster statuette had undoubtedly a funerary purpose and was probably found in Babylonia.

CBS. 318. Bought from J. Shemtob in London, in 1888.
207 × 125 mm.

5. Little cupid leaning on a post or perhaps on a big club, like another Hercules. His head is supported by his left hand and the arm rests on the post. His arms are folded and his legs crossed. He is a Greek version of Sigalion, the little silent genius of the grave. He is cut in alabaster, in the same style and character as the nude Venus preceding. His head also was covered with white stucco, probably painted, with heavy curls, and a wreath worked out in detail. The presence of both figures in tombs is a late Græco-Parthian adaptation of the ancient Babylonian legend of Ishtar and Tammuz.

CBS. 319. Bought from J. Shemtob in London, in 1888.
115 × 37 mm.

6. Little bone figure of a nude boy with an abnormal development of the lines of the hip, suggesting a female body. The hands were placed on the breasts in the attitude of Ishtar presenting herself, but the flat chest belongs to a male figure. The left hand holds a vaguely formed object, probably a fruit. The head wears a three-pointed wreath, or else the hair is artificially waved, a characteristic which belongs to the young Eros or Tammuz of the Babylonian graves. The confusion of sex points to a period of decadence, and also a confusion of mythological meanings.

CBS. 1778. Bought by J. D. Prince, in 1889, at Hillah as coming from tombs at Jumjuma, along with other objects described as: Gold frontlet; gold earrings made of hollow gold balls attached by small chains to a thin ring; small solid gold ring growing thicker toward the lower end; small gold female figure; gold leaves from the face of a buried woman. 70 × 25 mm.

7. Little bone figurine as before, showing confusion of sex. Hands pressing the breast, necklace, three-pointed headdress, all add to the confusion, and must be traced back to the legend of

Ishtar and Tammuz, in relation with burial rites. The bone figurine is flat behind. It was probably found in Babylonia.

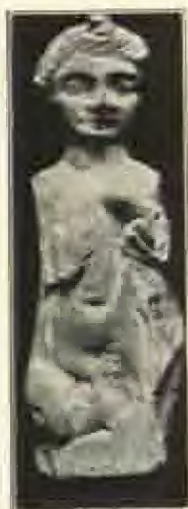
CBS. 324. Bought from J. Shemtob, in London, in 1888.
51 × 18 mm.

8. Fragment of a little bone figurine like the above.

CBS. 6180. Probably brought by H. V. Hilprecht from Hillah in 1889, but unregistered. 37 × 20 mm.



15



14



17



13



16

Bone figurines
Babylon
Graeco-Parthian Period

9. Little bone head of a similar figurine.

CBS. 14386. Unregistered. 20 × 17 mm.

10. Nude female figure, wearing only a necklace and having her hair plaited and crossed by a fillet. This is a bone figurine with separate arms attached by a wire through the shoulders. The pubes and navel, small breasts and large hips, the feet and knee caps are carefully modelled and accentuated. There is in the figure a smoothness and elegance proper to Greek art. This little figure was probably

not used as a doll, but is a new form of funerary Ishtar, the triumphant symbol of life buried with the dead.

CBS. 8997. Brought probably from Babylon by the second Nippur expedition. 124 × 25 mm.

11. Bone doll. Nude female figure as before, but of much coarser workmanship. The arms are not separate. The hands are placed under the breasts. A high calathos seems to cover the head.

CBS. 9026. Brought probably from Babylon by the second Nippur expedition. 95 × 25 mm.



18
Gold mask
Nippur
Græco-Parthian Period

12. Same figure as before, but mounted on a shaft decorated with rings, and wrongly called a hairpin. The long point was used to fix it in the clothing of the dead or in the ground.

CBS. 5984. Cast. Original missing. Unregistered; but probably found in Babylon. 88 × 15 mm.

13. Little nude figure as above (Nos. 6 to 9), but seated with the left knee drawn up and the right leg bent under; same confusion of sex; same headdress with three points, and left hand holding the breast or an undefined object. The figure probably represents the young Tammuz, comparable with Horus or Adonis. Bone (or ivory) carving.

CBS. 2539. Brought back by the second Nippur expedition. Probably bought in Hillah by H. V. Hilprecht, like the following number. 40 × 20 mm.

14. Little nude bone (or ivory) figure of a seated boy like the above.

CBS. 1777. Brought back by H. V. Hilprecht in 1889. 58
× 20 mm.

15. Little nude bone figure seated as before, but connected by a long shaft with the head of what must have been a nude female figure. This would complete the cycle of the legend, combining the two persons of Ishtar and Tammuz.

CBS. 14636. Unregistered. Probably found in Babylon.
89 × 11 mm.

16. Head of Ishtar, long shaft and seated nude boy as before.

CBS. 4030. Bought by the first (?) Nippur expedition.
85 × 11 mm.

17. Same object as above. Only the head of Ishtar and the shaft are preserved.

CBS. 323. Bought from J. Shemtob in London, in 1888.
66 × 12 mm.

18. Mask made of thin gold leaf, and probably found in a Parthian tomb by the fourth Nippur expedition.

Known only from a photograph, No. 215, taken in the field.

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BULL'S HEAD OF GOLD AND LAPIS, PROBABLY DECORATING THE ROYAL HAFF. B. C. 3500

THE MUSEUM JOURNAL

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No. 3

OLD SUMERIAN ART

BY L. LEGRAIN

IT is a pure joy for a weary archæologist to plunge into a study of Oriental art—the oldest known Mesopotamian art—thanks to the rich collection of objects, figures, statues, reliefs, and engravings discovered in the predynastic cemetery at Ur. A new stage of civilization, perfectly unknown a year ago, has now been reached. And to our great surprise, out of the mystery of the past beauty shines with a wonderful glamour. Gold and silver, blue lapis and red carnelian, mother of pearl and shell inlay, lavishly used by the Sumerian artists, show their good taste in the blending of colours, their mastery in the lines of the figures, the boldness and force of their drawings, which have a primitive charm and a subtle refinement such as we find at first hard to reconcile with so early a date. Many of the objects recovered, like the harp, the gaming boards with their sets of 'men' and dice, the golden comb so like a Spanish comb, the rings and garter of the queen, the fluted gold tumbler and the chalice, the chariots and their teams, all seem wonderfully familiar and close to us, while the wholesale murder and burial of servants and retainers round the grave of their lord and lady hint at grim customs of hoary ages.

Such beautiful objects were not the work of beginners. Civilization even then was an ancient achievement in Mesopotamia, whence it spread westward. Where shall we look for or place its origin? We do not know. But obviously the old Sumerian art at Ur is already a classical art, with fixed types and school conventions. Modelling, casting, carving, and engraving have no secrets for the expert craftsmen. Their best pieces of work show an ideal of force and dignity not devoid of a certain heaviness, a minute rendering of

details, a love of nature and animal life. It is a subtle and curious art which likes inlay and polychromy, delights in the mingling of colours and materials, the blending of low and high relief with boldly salient parts in the round. Its style is surprisingly free and is not abashed by the difficult tracing of figures *en face*, or the shortening of proportions in perspective. It has even an apparent sense of humour, probably with a deeper meaning, in scenes where animals are given the attitudes and play the parts of men: a dog carries a small altar loaded with offerings, a lion follows him bringing a lamp and the wine of the sacrifice. It is remarkable that the animals are by degrees transformed and given the head, face, locks, beard, arms, feet, and torso of man. We have composite monsters, a bison with a human face, a scorpion-man, a donkey seated and playing the harp with his fingers, a rampant gazelle holding two tumblers, a scaled monkey (?) playing with a rattle and drumming on a board.

This is pure mythology. We are introduced into a world in which animals can play and talk like men: a land of fable such as has always enchanted and will still long delight the children of men. And by the by, that marvellous curled beard hanging below the chin of the man-faced bison is not at all an emblem of divinity, but a sign of human virility. The horned mitre with one, two or four pairs of horns is the only certain emblem of divinity, both for gods and goddesses. So the bull might be a god, even without a beard. The crescent horns are the emblem of the Moon God, called the young bull of heaven. That mighty blue beard simply brings him one step closer to humanity, and may or may not decorate the golden head which animates and gives a voice to the harp "roaring like a bull."

And here we find a very important link between the old Sumerian art of Ur and the still earlier Elamite civilization—about 4000 B. C.—known through the French excavations at Susa. It is remarkable that the old Elamite artist in all his painting and carving and engraving "never represents a god under human form. But he multiplies animal figures, especially figures of wild species, and gives to them strange attitudes and human gestures. His imagination creates composite monsters, dragons and griffins. And when he reaches a higher stage, it is in scenes where the figures of Gilgamesh and Enkidu are conspicuous and betray a close relation with Babylonia."¹

"The Gilgamesh and Enkidu contests with wild animals are simply the heroic development of natural hunting scenes by which

¹ Del. 16, p. 3.

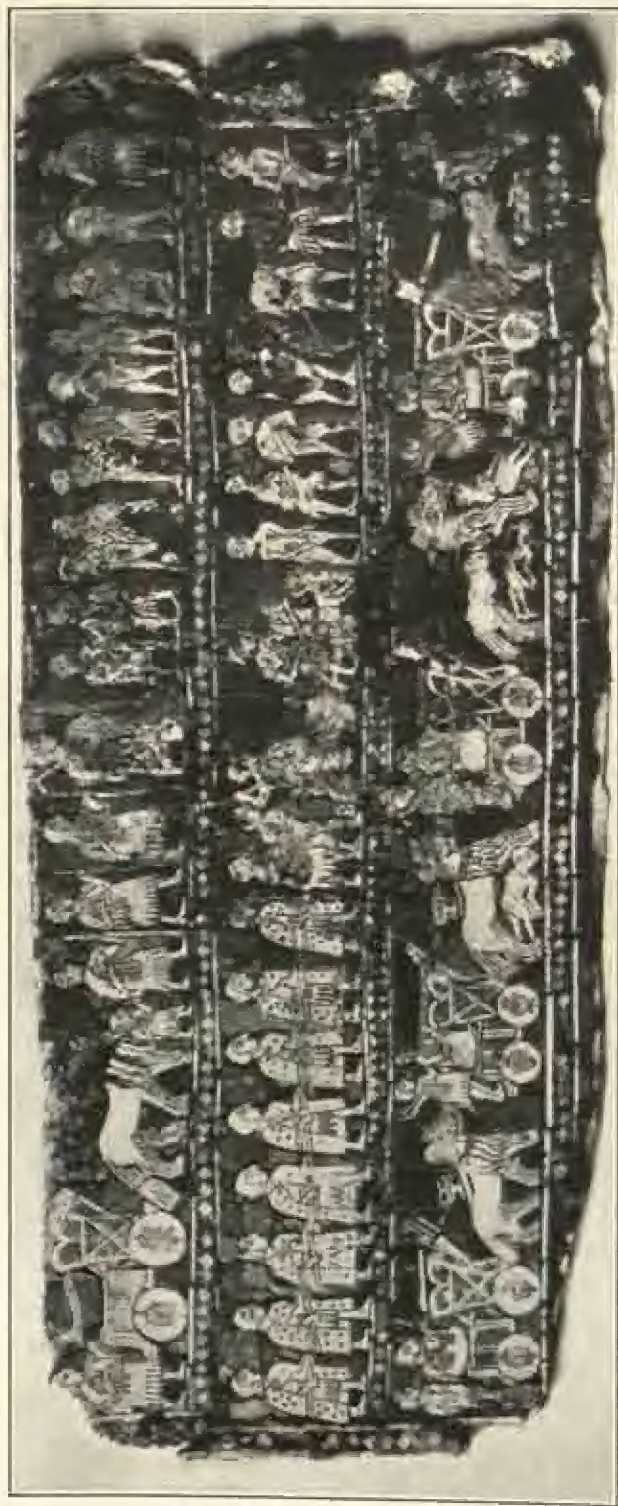
a contact is established with the archaic or Elamite period. The worshipping of gods in human form with crowns, sceptres, and thrones like kings is a new feature of the Sumero-Akkadian civilisation apparently unknown to the pre-Elamites—and to the predynastic Sumerians of Ur. It supposes regular institutions, city states, courts, and temples modelled on the courts. It expresses a higher ideal of worship no longer limited to stones, animal figures, weapons, and emblems, but to gods akin to humanity.

"Between these two extremes: heroic hunting and regular court worship of the gods, there is a large intermediary layer of mythological figures which seems to connect them and where we see the human god emerging from the beast, or in close contact with the primitive forces of nature. . . . When the gods attained full human stature and royal dignity, the world of heroes and demigods always had a number of bullmen, lionmen, birdmen, fishmen and scorpionmen; while the pure animals: bull, lion, dragon, bird, fish, serpent, scorpion, become simple followers, emblems and servants of the gods."¹

The eagle, a royal bird, has never attained, as an emblem of divinity, to the popularity of the bull. The eagle triumphs over wild animals, bull, bearded bison, and others. Eagle feathers decorate the heads of Sumerian chiefs, or are an ornament between the horns of the oldest mitre. But they soon disappear and are replaced by two or more pairs of horns, the round crescent horns of the bison, the accepted emblem of divinity. Anthropology and archæology are both interested in that primitive heraldry. The war eagle of the gods of the atmosphere is the lord of all the creatures of the pasture land. Is not the Moon God like a great bull moving across the pastures of heaven? All Sumer rejoices when his golden horn shines over the horizon, bringing in regular succession months and seasons and years. He is only the son of the god of the atmosphere but he is the guide and teacher of the Sumerian tribes and of their pastors, and his golden crown has impressed them as the highest emblem by which they can distinguish heavenly powers.

The happy restoration by the British Museum experts of some of the magnificent objects of art taken from the predynastic cemetery at Ur and their recent publication will be welcome to the readers of the JOURNAL. They will admire the stela or standard with six rows of Sumerian figures and scenes of peace and war cut in shell and

¹ P. B. S. 14, p. 13.



The old Sumerian stela. War scenes. The king and the prisoners. The legion. The charioteers. Stuffed inlaid in blue lapis.

inlaid on a background of blue lapis; the sounding-box of a harp decorated with inlay, engraved plaques, and a bull's head in gold and lapis; another bull's head in gold and lapis, part of a statue or probably of a second harp; finally a rein ring in silver surmounted by a bull mascot from the king's wagon. In the field of the past, the mist is slowly lifting, leaving a bright golden spot in the muddy plains of Mesopotamia, where Shub-ad was once a queen and Mes-kalamdug a king in ancient Ur, more than five thousand years ago.

THE INLAY STELA

It seems almost impossible ever to satisfy our curiosity by looking at the world of little Sumerian figures crowded in the six registers of the stela and in the two triangular ends. The whole is only 32 inches long, but there is such a variety of action, such a sense of life, with so many different costumes of the king, of his officials and his servants, such a display of arms, cloaks and helmets, such a contrast between the victors and their tattooed enemies, such a fascination about the chariots, their drivers, their men-at-arms, their teams of asses and their harness, that we gaze again and again, afraid to miss a single detail of that wonderful picture of ancient Sumerian life. The king is the real war lord. His figure is drawn on a larger scale and stands in the middle of the upper register. He carries in the right hand a curved club, his sceptre, and in the left, a lance with a large leaf-shaped head. Prisoners are brought one by one to him, and foremost one who is probably the chief of the defeated enemies. The king has alighted from his chariot and is followed by his body-guard or by officials of high rank, armed with battle-axe and lance. The king, his guard, and his soldiers all wear copper helmets covering the ears and tied with a strap below the chin. Some of the original helmets have been recovered in the excavations and the type strangely recalls some helmets of the crusaders' time. Lances and axes also have been recovered of the very type represented on the stela. The best gold models must have been the weapons of the king. The proper Sumerian dress is a kilt with long laps, closing behind. Originally a fleece, it may later have been made of woollen material with long thrums woven in on one side in imitation of the fleece. A second piece of the same material—called *kaunakes*—was thrown like a plaid over the left shoulder. The whole army was shaven and shorn according to Sumerian tradition, and went barefooted, which was no inconvenience on the soft muddy soil of



The old Sumerian stela. Scenes of peace. The banquet. Cattle, flocks, teams of asses, and provisions. Shell engraved and inlaid in blue lapis.

Mesopotamia. Of course a wadded lining was fixed inside the helmet; traces of one have been found inside the golden wig.

The king's chariot is of the common type of that age, with four wheels, side and back panels, a high front board, and a curved pole rising high and supporting a rein ring behind its junction with the yoke. A diminutive groom, his whip resting on his shoulder, leads the royal team of great mules or asses. The man-at-arms or henchman follows on foot behind, holding the reins in his left and his battle-axe in his right hand. The reins lie in the V-shaped notch cut in the top of the front board. A large quiver full of spare darts and lances hangs on the left horn of the same board. A leopard skin or blanket is thrown over the back panel and covers the step on which the second charioteer will stand during the action, protecting the driver fighting in front. The front board is reinforced by cross pieces, the sides are divided into three panels by straight bars. State chariots decorated with an inlaid pattern of shell and lapis, and lions', bulls' and leopards' heads in gold and silver in the round have been recovered in the royal tombs. These were not war chariots but rather belong to the sumptuous type of coach which Ishtar devised as a reward for her lovers: "I will harness for thee a chariot of lapis and gold, with wheels of gold and horns of diamond. Daily shalt thou harness the great mules."

Ishtar herself, the august princess of Uruk, who inhabits a house of gold, drove a team of seven lions. But this is pure mythology. The king's own team was incontestably a team of four mules or donkeys. For the first time we have a clear, complete picture of the animals with body, hoofs, head, and tail, and they are neither horses nor lions nor bearded bulls nor dragons, but asses, which is very satisfactory. What seems to be the long hair round their necks is neither mane nor beard, but artificial braids of hair or wool attached to the collar like an ornament or to drive flies away, a practice very much in honour among the Assyrians and still observed in many parts of the world. The reins were attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Silver collars and silver rings have been found in the royal graves, providing evidence that teams of bulls were used as well as teams of asses.

The plain wooden wheels made of two semicircular pieces joined by copper clamps or bands round a central core, have excited the enthusiasm of archæologists. The wheel, a great human discovery, was in use at Ur more than fifteen hundred years before it was

imported into Egypt. There are several models of wheels which show that the central core was either round or lozenge-shaped. The wheel was probably solid with the axle which turned with it in a groove below the body of the chariot. A copper pin or bolt sometimes secured its connection with the axle. In any case the early Sumerian wheel was massive and not yet made more graceful or lighter by the use of spokes. Big knobs of metal sometimes reinforced the rim. Mr. Woolley has suggested leather tires. The only wheelband discovered at Susa was made of six bronze sections riveted together and forming a complete circle embedded in the rim.

Centuries later Gudea, another prince of Sumer, was ordered to build the royal chariot of his god: "Break the seal (of the doors) of thy treasure house; bring wood out of it, and build a complete chariot for thy king. Harness to it the donkeys. Adorn the chariot with metal and lapis inlay. Darts in the quiver shall shine like the day. Take good care of the *ankar*, the arm of bravery." Gudea brought out his most precious timber, esalim-wood, mēsu-wood, huluppu-wood. He completed the chariot and harnessed to it the great Uk-kash donkeys. The chariot shone like the stars in heaven. The donkeys were of the famous breed of Eridu, and the driver Ensignun could drive like a storm. It was an irresistible machine of war: "The chariot named Kurmugan, was loaded with splendour, covered with brilliancy. With its donkeys, its groom, the seven-headed club, the terrible weapons of the battle, the weapons which no country can resist, the deadly weapons of the battle, the Mi-ib, with a lion head in hulalu stone which no land resists, the sword with the nine emblems, the arm of bravery, the bow which sounds like a (forest), the terrible arrows of the battle which dart like lightnings, the quiver out of which wild beast and dragons let hang their tongues, arms of the battle to fulfil the orders of royalty, all this was a present of Gudea, builder of the temple, patesi of Lagash."

All the prisoners brought in to the king are nude except the first of them, who wears a short fringed kilt, but he is so indistinct a figure that it is hard to decide whom he represents, probably the enemy king. All have ropes round their necks and their arms tied behind their backs. They are shaven and shorn like their Sumerian opponents and it would have been difficult to distinguish one from another if the enemies did not have marks—war paint or tattoo?—all over the body, on skull, cheek, chest, and thigh. Or are these marks of the wounds inflicted by the battle-axes and lances which we

see in the hands of the soldiers, a graphic representation of the blood trickling from the cuts in the flesh? There is a certain freedom of style in that otherwise monotonous procession. Not one figure is the exact copy of the other. The groups are not rigidly the same. Two prisoners are marshalled by one man—if this is the original order? All the soldiers do not carry the same weapon. Their proud attitude, with heads erect, contrasts with the downcast look of the prisoners.

The army in action is displayed in the next two registers. It is divided into two corps, the foot troops and the charioteers. And we cannot help admiring the free imagination, the naïve charm in the forceful presentation by the primitive artist of a battle scene so full of life and motion. The solid legion has formed a line with lowered lances pointing forward. All wear the uniform: the scalloped kilt, the copper helmet fixed by a strap under the chin; a mantle covering both shoulders and fastened by a clasp on the chest. The dots in groups of three, four, and five which decorate the mantles make the soldiers look like the pieces of a game of dominoes, giving somehow the impression of knaves in a pack of cards, which would have pleased Alice in Wonderland. In fact these are not dots but the spots of leopard skins, as we see from the animal represented on the triangular end. The skin served as a material for the soldiers' heavy coat, which was thrown over the back of the chariot when not used, or spread on the seat as a blanket.¹ Nothing could disturb the order of this solid rear line. Their grasp on their lances betokens perfect drilling, and while the practised eye of a sergeant-major might see irregularity in the openings of the mantles, the ordered tramp, tramp of their feet would have swollen with pride the builder of an empire. Three sons of an old Sumerian king on a famous limestone relief² wear their mantles in the same manner, fastened with a clasp and covering both shoulders. The soldiers of the front line are already engaged in an action, the issue of which is not doubtful. The enemies are prostrate, wounded, stripped, bound, and captive, so dexterously can the Sumerian warrior handle battle-axe and lance, as shown in three different groups. One prisoner is being handcuffed. The soldier next to him brandishes his lance over a fallen enemy. The third wipes the blade of his axe and feels the cutting edge after dealing a blow. The bodies of the fallen enemies are drawn with much liberty and a daring attempt at perspective and foreshortening

¹ MUSEUM JOURNAL, June, 1927, p. 150.

² MUSEUM JOURNAL, September, 1926, p. 758.

of proportions, both here and in the case of the bodies of the enemies run down by the charioteers. The Sumerian soldier in action has discarded his great mantle and thrown his plaid over his left shoulder. A fringed stole over the left arm of one of them is an unusual garment, perhaps the loin cloth of the enemy and a part of the spoil which belongs to the victor. More enemies, nude and wounded, are



The old Sumerian stela. The triangular ends. Horakke, mythological subjects.

driven on by the charging infantry. Some of them still keep their lances and their loin cloths closing in front and having narrow fringes. The fight is over and they are fleeing, while one unfortunate man casts a last look on the scene of battle. This part of the stela has evidently suffered and two half figures of men, one nude and the other wearing a loin cloth, have been jumbled together.

The charioteer scene is a pure delight for anybody who has witnessed a charge and the long lines of horses sweeping, wave after wave, through the golden dust. If the first team of asses walks composedly enough, the second has struck a lively pace which becomes a full gallop and a mad dash in the last two. The foremost driver with his goad or two-pronged dart and his henchman brandishing a lance is thrown backwards and the man on the step has to hang on desperately. Their raised heads answer to the raised heads of the animals, to their springing bodies and their flowing tails. Weapons, lances, axes, dresses, helmets, kilts, and plaids are the same as those worn by the infantry. The crumpled nude bodies of the enemies litter the ground.

The reverse is not less interesting. Here we see the pleasures and abundance of peace opposed to the violence of war. The king presides over a banquet amidst his sons or officials and drinks a cup of the best mountain wine. The seats are remarkably elegant. Servants hustle about and a woman singer, we imagine, recites in cadenced verses the great actions of the battle accompanied by the harpist striking in time the eleven cords of his small harp. So the women danced, and sang that King Saul had killed his thousand but David his ten thousand. In the registers below there is a real pageant of servants bringing the requisites of the feast and also the spoils of war. Bulls, goats, a ram, a lamb, and four big carp fresh from the river will supply a royal meal. The safe leading of the lively bulls is no easy matter. A rope is attached to a ring in the beast's nose, and the first cowboy pulls it high to prevent any unruly tossing, while the second has wound his arms, like a wrestler, round the threatening horns of the bull, ready to throw it. What would our Wild West think of that ancient East? The manner in which the shepherds carry a lamb—or is it a young gazelle?—or hold a ram by the curved horn and fat tail has not changed since those early days. The goat-herd armed with a short stick or a whip drives his animals from behind. For accuracy the heads of the goats nos. 2 and 3 ought to be placed a little forward to balance properly over their forelegs. Goat no. 1 belongs to a different species, the Markhur goat, with spiral horns, long pendent ears, a beard, and a tucked-up tail. A headman carrying his staff of office introduces the procession, which is divided into two main groups headed by figures with clasped hands. These have no special attributes and are perhaps foremen or officials.

In the last register two teams of asses with their drivers, and pack carriers of two types are divided into two or three groups headed by their foremen, if such are the figures with the clasped hands. The first driver walks rope in hand at the head of the procession and evidently ought rather to be placed at the head of his asses, which is his proper station as exemplified by the second driver. One of the pack carriers bears the bundles on his shoulder but the second uses a framework resting on his back and secured by a rope passing round his forehead. This way of carrying heavy burdens strangely recalls Indian basket carriers or jar carriers from old Peru. The carriers and the foremen have long hair, the asses' drivers are shorn like the rest of the servants above, except the men who bring the lamb and the ram, who wear long hair and beards. This may be a professional as well as a racial distinction. Bedouin shepherds in the desert let their hair grow. But slaves and prisoners of war of different races may have kept their own mode of hairdressing and costume. It is remarkable that all the figures in the last register wear a kilt closing behind or a loin cloth opening in front, with short fringes. The kilt with short fringes is very different from the kilt with long laps worn by the Sumerian officials, or from the better one worn by the king. The loin cloth opening in front is the proper dress of the vanquished enemies. The careful drawing may correspond to a difference in race and rank and also to a difference of material, wool or linen. The only figure—unfortunately incomplete—in the third register who wears the Sumerian kilt with long laps which closes behind, is probably another headman introducing the second procession.

Animal figures borrowed from the common repertory of heraldry and heroic hunting fill the triangular ends of the stela. We have the passant leopard, the couchant lamb, the rampant goat, the conventional branch and star flower with eight petals, in a landscape of hills represented by a pyramid of dots or curves. A hunter, dagger in hand, has seized about the neck a rampant ibex caught amidst bushes and hills. The hunter may be a hillman, an Elamite, with long hair and beard (?), very different from the completely shorn Sumerian. He wears the fringed loin cloth of the enemy, closing in front. The lines of his body are more elongated and graceful, the knees are bare for action. The typical, shorn, stumpy Sumerian wears a bell-shaped woollen kilt closing behind. The long laps hang down the middle of his legs. The panels are reconstructed and the scene is not clear, but he is certainly not a hunter, and is



Shell plaques engraved with mythological scenes and set
in the scumming-box of a harp (?) below the bull's head
of gold and lapis.

probably raising his hand for some ritual action. The goat rampant amidst bushes and hills with head turned back is probably out of position, and the straight post supporting an emblem¹ is the object which ought to have been placed in front of the Sumerian worshipper. The middle, incomplete panel certainly represented a fight between bull and lion as seen below in the decoration of the harp.

The very ancient mythological group of the lion-headed eagle perched on the back of the bearded, man-headed bison, which he masters and lacerates "unguibus" if not "rostro," deserves special attention. The composite monsters are in the tradition of archaic Elamite art. The mythical bird is the master of the bull. By no means is he picking off flies and bugs as has been irreverently suggested. The eagle is above all an emblem of royalty, domination, and power, and such has been his meaning through the ages, whether he flies over the heads of Assyrian kings, or before Roman legions, or on Greek, German, French, or American coins. The spread-eagle found in so many coats of arms of old Sumer and of modern countries is the triumphant bird seizing its prey with its talons. He is the emblem of gods of war worshipped in different cities under different names, Ningirsu, Nin-Urash, In-Shusi-nak. Under the name of Imgig he figures in the coat of arms of the city of Lagash, devoted to Ningirsu, where the type of an eagle with a lion's head is well established and is contemporary with the drawing of many figures in full face. But there was more liberty in the past and we find spread-eagles and eagles in profile, with normal heads and with lions' heads, capturing two animals or perching on the back of one. Their prey may be bulls, antelopes, lions, stags, ibexes, even ducks.

The bull may be passant, couchant, or rampant. It may be the wild mountain bull with widely spread horns, the primitive urochs, or the bison with crescent horns and long locks, which in old Elamite drawings has tufts of hair below the chin. The last has been transformed into the man-headed bison which has the face of Gilgamesh, before it becomes the bull-man Enkidu. The spread-eagle may even have a double lion's head, which was a favourite device in the time of Gudea and on a few ancient Elamite seals, but he should not be confused with the birdman Zû, who steals the tablets of destiny, carries the dead bison on his shoulders, has a wife and son, and is killed by Lugalbanda in Khashu, the unknown mountain. Many a seal in the Museum collections represents the capture and judgment of the

¹ Cf. MUSEUM JOURNAL, June, 1927, p. 150.

Zū bird and his disgrace, which can never be imputed to the royal Imgig bird.

The inlay stela,¹ according to Mr. Woolley, is as a work of art unparalleled, as a historic document invaluable. It was found beside the shoulder of a man buried in a side chamber of the oldest of the royal tombs, almost intact as it was executed by the craftsmen of 3500 B. C. It is an elaborate example of inlay work in shell, lapis lazuli, and pink limestone. The two large plaques were set back to back at a slight angle, with the triangular pieces between their ends, and the whole may have been mounted on a pole so as to be carried as a standard. The tesserae had for the most part not shifted from their position. What is shown here is not a reconstruction but the original mosaic. Some of the border has been restored; only the triangular ends had been seriously broken up.

THE HARP

The harp is the instrument of the poets, the support of the aerial words in which they enshrine joys and sorrows, memory of the past and hope immortal. David sang to the harp to soothe the brooding heart of Saul. A harpist and a woman singer stand by at the king's banquet. Gudea of Lagash presented to his god Ningirsu "his beloved harp named Usungal-kamma, the sonorous and famous instrument of his council. The portico (?) of the harp was like a roaring bull." It served to accompany the sacred prayers which were said in the court, together with the clang of the cymbals. "Along with the flute it filled with joy the courts of the temple." The temple singer used it "to appease the heart, to please the joyous humour, to wipe tears from the eyes, to release the pain of the suffering heart." The singer in his recital is likened to "the storm of the Ocean, to the tempest on land, to the soft purifying waters of the Euphrates. The young girls of the harem, the seven twins of the goddess Ban, placed close to him, pronounce the good words. With the flute, the cymbals, and the harp they fill with joy the courts of the temple."

The harp of Gudea is represented on a limestone relief. It is rectangular in form, with a large sounding-box and an upper bar in which the keys are fixed. It has eleven strings spreading fanwise from the box to the upper bar, towards the left angle behind which

¹ MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1928, pp. 31-33.

sits the player, playing with both hands. A passant bull, probably of gold, stands on the sounding-box, and another bull's head decorates the front of it.

The little harp represented on the stela also has eleven strings, and is decorated with a bull's head. The sounding-box has the shape of a couchant bull, with an inlaid collar and an inlaid band across the body. The harpist plays while standing. A band passing over his shoulders may help to carry the instrument. An opening in the sides of the box makes the sounds clearer and mellow.

Another type of harp with eight strings is represented on a shell plaque to be studied below. It is played by a seated donkey and belongs to a very interesting mythological series. With three other plaques it was inset as a decoration below the splendid horned bull's head in gold, with its large beard of lapis. Bull's head and plaques were possibly part of a harp of the same type.

The harp found in the queen's grave had also a sounding-box decorated with a calf's head of gold and lapis, with shell plaques engraved with mythological subjects, and with bands of inlay.¹ The woodwork, which had perished, has been carefully restored in the British Museum. According to Mr. Woolley the harp has twelve strings, but the position of the keys on the upright is not clear, pending further restoration. The calf's head and the engraved plaques deserve attention.

The calf's head, without horns, which decorates the queen's harp, is made of gold and lapis, like the bull's head found in the king's grave, which may also have been part of a harp. Both are wonderful examples of ancient Sumerian art. The same technique was applied to both.

"The head all except the ears and horns was hammered up from a sheet of thin gold and set over a wooden core. The horns and ears made separately were fixed to this. Under the chin a deep cut was made in the wood, the edges of the gold being bent into the cut, and here was inserted the beard. The base of this was a wooden board on which the tresses cut of lapis lazuli were set in bitumen, while the back and sides of the board were concealed by a plate of thin silver seamed by silver nails. The upper part of the woodwork went right up into the wood of the head and was made fast to it by nails driven through the crown. The gold did not cover the crown at all. Here the wooden core left exposed was coated with bitumen

¹ MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1928, pp. 11-13.



Calf's head of gold and lapis on the sounding-box of the queen's harp.

and into the bitumen were laid the lapis lazuli locks of hair, each separately carved.

"The eyes of white shell with lapis pupils enclosed in eye sockets of lapis were secured by copper bolts to the wood core of the head. The many superciliary folds are typical of Sumerian art. A strip of gold nailed on behind the horns completed the neck and a narrow band of mosaic in shell and lapis formed a collar to mark the distinction between the metal head and the wooden body."

These are beautiful pieces of work, curious and refined. The association of full and low relief with engraving betrays the very spirit and taste of ancient Sumerian art. The result of such inlay is very striking. The polychromy of the materials, shell, lapis, gold, red limestone, and bitumen adds new unforeseen effects. The animal forms are heavy but original and powerful. The types, studied from nature in familiar attitudes, are strikingly true. The first sketch fixed the essential forms of each species. The artists of the best periods will have nothing to change to reach perfection, more refinement but not more character.

Animal life is a favourite motif of Sumerian art. The animals are drawn in familiar poses, couchant, rampant, running, fighting, according to well-established types. Legendary and fantastic compositions alternate with these monotonous repetitions: lion-headed eagle, bearded bull, scorpion-man.

Sumerian religion gave a large place to spirits, demons, genii, embodying natural forces. This religious and primitive instinct of the race inspired the artists to create monsters, fantastic beings composed of several animal forms, which were sometimes combined with human forms. In Elam long before, when no god had ever been represented as a man, the animals were given strange human attitudes, in an effort to express the *mens diviniore*.

The bearded bison was known to and represented by Elamite artists, with graphic details of locks and tresses, which the wild bull can never claim. But the actual blue lapis beard below the golden head is a human attribute of the hero-hunter Gilgamesh, mighty as Nimrod. The proper attribute of the gods, under human form, is the horned mitre. It is true that the great Moon God of Ur is called the young bull of heaven and his blue lapis beard is famous in religious poems. But the divine harp, Usum-kalama, roaring like a bull, is not necessarily the great Moon God Nannar or any great bull of heaven.



Calf's head of gold and lapis on the sounding-box of the queen's harp.

The front of the harp below the golden calf's head is decorated with four shell plaques engraved with animal figures, in natural or fantastic composition. Engraving on shell is a purely Sumerian art. The drawing is done with a hard point on dull shell with scarcely visible relief. The plaques of shell of small dimensions were cut from the pivot axis of certain univalve shells of the species *trito* or *melo*. Drawing with the point is the most primitive, the simplest, and the most abstract form of art. Bodies are reduced to a single contour line with no thickness. Engraving and drawing are one at first, whether on metal, shell, or mother of pearl. Strength is the ideal of the engraver. His tracing is surprisingly strong, somewhat heavy but full of expression, done with a very accurate hand, but cutting a uniform line. Even inside the contour, the tracing of muscles or the detail of manes and feathers is not a shade lighter. The ambition of the artist is strong uniform work in sharp contrast on the white background. The filling of the lines with black and red paint betrays his delight in life and colours.

Each subject is framed by a straight border line. The intentional order of the figures, the need for symmetry and the heraldic composition of confronted animals is from the beginning the characteristic mark of Sumerian decorative art. Figures *en face*, always very difficult, and the abundance of minute and systematic details are a daring attempt at reproducing life. There is the same power in the daring attitudes, the heads turned full face, the raised tails, the bristling manes full of a rude energy.

The four subjects selected are the lion-headed eagle seizing two leaping ibexes—or antelopes (?); two bulls rampant in a thicket of plants; the bull-man Enkidu holding up two leopards by their hind legs; a hunting lion at grips with a rampant bull, seizing its neck in its jaws.

The lion-headed eagle alighting on the back of a bull, bearded or not, is one of the strongest motifs in the old Sumerian picture gallery. The same figure in the same angular, rude style is found on several primitive seal cylinders. The spread-eagle is a military emblem on the Stela of the Vultures. The spread-eagle with a lion's head, seizing in its talons lions, stags, gazelles, bulls, ibexes, or ducks, is one of the fantastic composite animals of the archaic Elamite style. In Sumer it has become a heraldic device, the coat of arms of many war gods, Ningirsu of Lagash, Ninurta, and probably In Shushinak of Susa. His name is the Imgig bird. He is not flying, but has wings

spread and flapping in the act of seizing his prey. Pieces representing a feather, cut in red limestone, white shell, and black bituminous stone have been found at Lagash. All are pierced at the back for attachment by copper wire to a wooden board. When assembled they must have formed the wings, body, and tail of the *Imig* bird in natural proportions. The red, black, and white must have been contrasted in the checkered lines of colours as represented on the engraved plaque. Separate heads of lions, or of lion-headed eagles in the round, with a mortise for the reception of a tenon at the back must have completed such decoration in the style of the reconstructed *Imig* panel of Al 'Ubaïd.

On the engraved plaque the neck of the lion-eagle is short, the ears well developed, the mane figured by three wild locks. The talons are closing on the prey sideways as usual in Elam, and not in front as on the vase of Entemena. The two rampant animals are a species of goat-like antelope like the chamois. It is said that the berkout, the Oriental golden eagle, catches hare, fox, antelope, ibex, wolf, and boar.

The mountain bison with the red thick coat and short, round crescent horns still lives wild in the Caucasus. The urochs with diverging horns from which descend the modern tame cattle is today extinct. It has no beard or locks of hair and is a favourite motif, represented as rampant in a thicket of conventional plants in a landscape of hills. The big buds of the plants sometimes spread into star flowers.

The bull-man Enkidu holding up by the hind leg two leopards is a classical figure of the cycle of the heroic hunters. His counterpart is Gilgamesh holding two leopards by the tail. Eabani is in profile and wears a belt and the beard, locks, and horns of the man-headed bison. The twisted bodies and threatening heads of the enraged animals are remarkable. The strong heraldic symmetry is everywhere prevalent.

The lion attacking the bull is known from other examples which prove the strong school traditions of the Sumerian artist. The lion has stopped the onrushing bull, seized it round the neck, and is biting it in the shoulder. His head is turned full face. The mane is treated in the great, energetic style of Mesilim, back in the time of, if not before, the early kings of Kish.

THE GOLD AND LAPIS BULL'S HEAD

This bull's head in gold with a beard made of lapis is a magnificent example of the old Sumerian art of the same style as the calf's head decorating the queen's harp. It was probably part of another harp, buried in the grave of the unknown king. "A row of engraved shell plaques ornamented the front of the figure set between the legs just below the level of the beard."

The beard transforms the bull into a legendary animal. The square muzzle regarded *en face*, the crescent horns with tips of lapis, the large open eyes with superciliary folds, and the quick flapping ears have a superior vigour. We almost expect to hear the bellowing voice.

But the greatest surprise is provided by the four engraved plaques below, unrivalled for the energy and beauty of the drawing, and their richness in mythological subjects. All betray a master hand and a strong Elamite influence, animals playing the parts of men, composite animals given human arms and faces, a scorpion-man, animal musicians of types unknown except on Elamite seal impressions. Gilgamesh *en face* protecting two man-headed bisons is a classical Sumerian model and the head of the scorpion-man seems to be a copy of the oldest inlaid figures from Kish. The lion rampant may have inspired the carving of the macehead of Mesilim or the engraving on the colossal copper lance from Lagash. But the beautifully shaped jar apparently protected by wickerwork has no parallel outside of Elam. The tracing of the figures is so precise and refined, sober with a gentle charm, that it suggests engraving not so much as painting, such as we expect on Greek vases. But the energetic drawing, the symmetry of subjects, the framing of each panel, and the mythological composition are purely Oriental and Sumerian. The surprise is to find such beautiful works of art at such an early date.

Let us go into details. Gilgamesh, the famous king of Uruk, would be today the perfect athlete. He is the desire of Ishtar, so strong that no wild animal, bull, leopard, or lion, can resist him. The Sumerian artists never tire of representing the hero in close contests with all kinds of rampant or fallen animals. The type of Gilgamesh in full face, with long locks on either side, and the long curls of an imposing beard carefully arranged below his chin, is comparatively recent and betrays a change in manners and school. Older figures of the glorious hunter show him in profile with wild locks and no beard. We know how fond the Sumerians were of soap and razor. Their completely shorn heads are always conspicuous.



Bull mascot on a rein ring of silver mounted on the pole
of the king's chariot.

The beard hanging below clean shaven chin and lips may be an artificial ornament that would go far to explain the lapis beard of the golden bull. It was the current fashion for kings and gods at the time of Urnina and later as seen on the Stela of the Vultures. Wigs may have added a borrowed splendour to bald Sumerian heads, as evidenced by the gold wig of King Meskalamdug. Men with natural short hair and beard, generally servants, shepherds, butchers, masons, musicians, and hunters of the older Elamite type, are represented mingling with shaven Sumerians. We may suspect a mixing of races which must have existed very early in that country. The Sumerian soldiers and the king are all shorn, while their enemies—and some of the servants—have short hair and beard. The confusion begins with the long locks—evidently of a wig—with which they cover their heads even when at war and which make them look like women in the absence of a beard, false or not, or other signs of sex.¹

Hair and beard of Gilgamesh may have been natural. Even in the days of wigs some men used to wear their own hair. But we are evidently on legendary ground, where the hairiness borrowed from kingly state would convey the superhuman strength and dignity of the semidivine hero. The Gilgamesh face with hair and beard is the product of a classical conventional school. The same face has been given to a composite monster famous to the end of the Assyrian empire: the man-headed bison. In exchange the bison's horns placed on the head of a human king or queen will be a symbol of divinity.

Gilgamesh is nude except for the triple belt with which he has girded his loins.

The second panel represents an extraordinarily interesting ritual scene where the parts of the priest and of the assistant are played by animals. The butcher priest with his knife in his belt who carries the portable altar is a mastiff with a short tail, of the type found on Elamite seal impressions. There also he plays quaintly the part of a shepherd milking a goat from behind, assisted by a fox who holds the goat by beard and horns. The cane (?) altar with uprights reinforced by crosspieces, is of an unusual type not unlike an hour glass. On it are piled choice pieces, a leg of lamb, a calf's head, and the head of a bear. The dog is given human hands and arms to carry the altar—the *Gi-gab* Sumerian altar. The knife is a

¹ MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1925, p. 40.

copy of the gold dagger with the lapis handle and the rivets affect the same triangular shape.

The assistant lion is a splendid example of a rampant figure that would grace any coat of arms. The drawing of the old Sumerian artist has fixed forever a classical type rarely surpassed. The treatment of the mane, represented by a series of imbricated tufts of hair of triangular shape, has an archaic vigour also found on old Sumerian works of art, the mace of King Mesilim, the great copper lance of Lagash. The lion carries in his hands a lamp and a jar of wine. The lamp—some original examples in gold and silver have been found in the graves—has that peculiar form evolved from a sea shell, "out of conch cut in two so that the valve at the end might serve as a groove to support the wick." The jar may have been painted, or more likely was protected by a network of fibre, like the modern Italian *fiaschi*. It was carried in the same way by a loop of cord attached to the basketwork. Jars of the same type, enigmatically connected with lions or leopards, with a graphic representation of the fiery liquid overflowing are found in the Elamite repertory of seal impressions. The leopard is the familiar animal of Bacchus. The wine instils into men's hearts the courage of the lion. The mother of King Lemuel used to tell him:

"Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish,
and wine unto those that be of heavy heart."

There is no ritual sacrifice without ritual music: the sound of the harp and the clanging of the cymbals. Animal musicians fill the next panels. A seated donkey plays on the harp upheld by a bear which one might swear was dancing, if its hands were not so firmly fixed on the frame of the harp. This is friendly and needful aid, since the donkey has both hands and ten extended fingers busy with the strings. The minute tracing of the fingers on either side of the cords is remarkable and in the best tradition of Sumerian art. The head of the donkey is a close study of nature, as are also the other animal figures. The curve of the back is well marked, outlined by the second upright of the harp, which looks like a false tress of hair. The strong strings spread fanlike from the sounding-box to the upper bar, to which they are attached by a double knot. They are eight in number. The slit in the sounding-box, just above the point where they are attached, makes it more resonant. We have seen that the bull's head, here probably of gold and without beard, is part of the

traditional decoration of the harp. Even the rest of the sounding-box affects to copy the body of a couchant bull. A band of inlay separates the metal head from the wood of the box.

The figure of the bear is very unusual, but its rough hair indicated by markings, its short tail and legs, the lump on the shoulders, and the whole bearish attitude of head and arms are very characteristic. No doubt we are to look to the neighbouring mountain land of Elam for its original home, as well as for that of the small animal sitting at its feet, shaking a rattle and drumming on a board. This animal is, as far as we can judge, more like an ichneumon than a monkey. Its connection with the bear and the donkey musicians would delight any folklorist. When first met on Elamite seal impressions it was described as an "unidentified feline species, often seated on its hind legs like a man. It has two small round ears and a sharp nose. Its tail is long and thin. It is represented playing with a small fox and holding it by the tail, catching flies, holding long streamers, or sitting in a boat, oar or harpoon in hand. This animal may be a giant ichneumon or a monkey."¹ A connection between foxes and musicians, or musicians with a fox's tail, seems possible in certain Elamite seal impressions.

Finally the scorpion-man strutting in front of a rampant chamois is the most extraordinary figure of the set. Is he supposed to symbolize the wild spirit of the dance, his nipping claws transformed into human arms and hands, his long jointed tail ending in a curled up venomous sting above a pair of human feet, his head with the finely plaited hair and beard of the approved Kish style? The objects in his hands are unfortunately indistinct, but might be prehistoric castanets. Scorpions and tarantulas have always been thought to cause fabulous dancing diseases. The same wild spirit animates the rampant chamois, jumping like the "kids of Engadi." What seem to be small tumblers in its hands are probably rattles or cymbals. The beautifully shaped high jar at the back with a rectangular piece—or pipe—set at an angle in the mouth probably gives the last touch to a complete picture of a feast with dance and music. Nothing so rich and full of importance for a study of old Sumerian art and history has ever before come out of the field. With the other objects found in the pre-dynastic graves at Ur, these beautiful masterpieces revolutionize our idea of Mesopotamian civilization in the fourth millennium B. C.

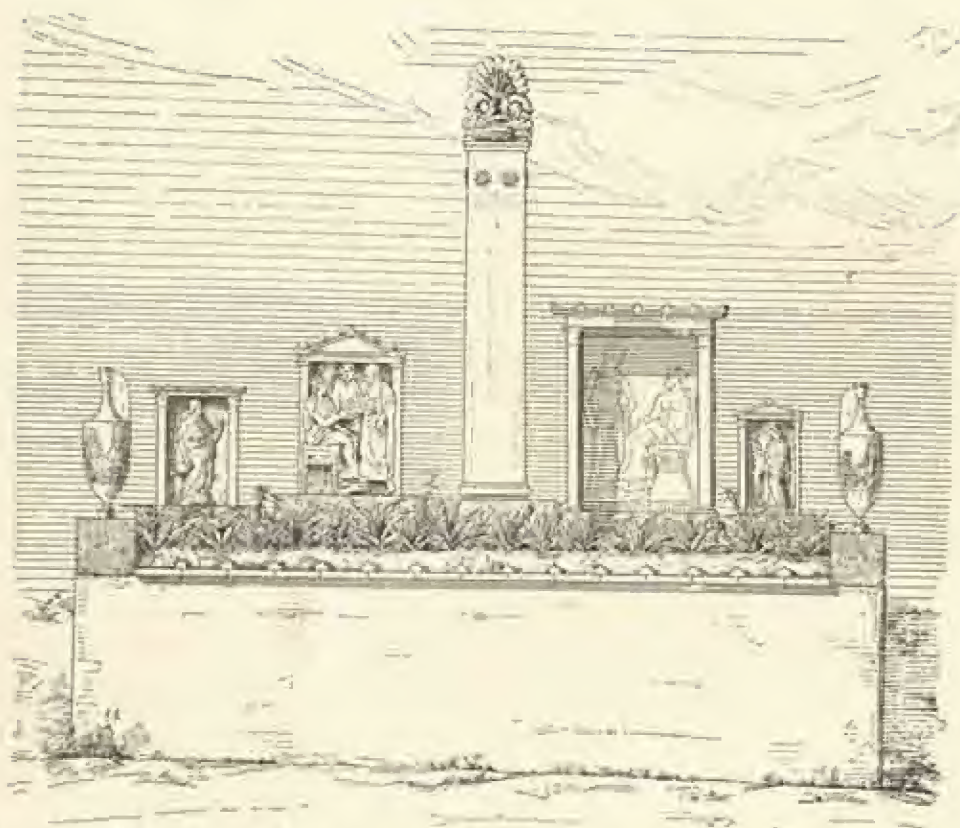
¹ Del., t. XVI, p. 22.

THE BULL MASCOT

As part of a wholesale burial of guards, servants, wives, and singers, in a shaft round the grave of the king, were found two chariots with grooms and teams of oxen. "Inside the shaft proper, standing as they had been backed down the slope came two wagons, clumsy four-wheeled affairs, each drawn by three oxen. Of the wooden wagon little was found, for wood cannot endure the soil of Ur. The oxen wore wide collars of silver decorated with patterns in repoussé work and had large silver rings in their nostrils. On the reins were strung beads of silver and lapis lazuli and they passed through rein-rings of silver surmounted by a mascot in the form of a bull." The queen's chariot had an electrum mascot in the shape of a donkey.¹ A passant lion decorated the pole of the state chariot of Ningirsu, patron god of Lagash.

The Baghdad Museum has claimed as its share the bull mascot. It is a magnificent example of Sumerian art in modelling and casting. Animal figures have always been a favourite subject in Sumer. The wild bull on the glazed bricks of the Ishtar gate is the last beautiful copy of a classical model. The copper bull in the round from Al 'Ubaid proves how early the Sumerian artist had fixed the characters of a type never surpassed. The short body, the powerful front legs and chest, the raised head and the perfect arc of the horns, the natural attitude of the brute arrested in his walk and full of irresistible strength in its immobility, are a monument to that far back ancestor the Sumerian artist, so close and dear to us for his technical skill, his creative power, and his cult of beauty.

¹ MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1928, pp. 17, 21.



Restoration of a family plot in the cemetery of the Kerameikos, Athens.

From Bruchmann, A., and Stuck, A., *Die Pracht der Etrüskern*, p. 71, Fig. 44.

THREE GREEK GRAVE MONUMENTS

BY EDITH H. DOHAN

IN Greek thought as in Christian, it was held an act of virtue to bury the dead, or rather, since the soul wandered helpless and hopeless until the body was laid to rest, it was considered an act of impiety not to give it burial. Only those who merited the extreme penalty were denied the solace of burial rites. What these rites were is known from Lucian's *De Luctu* and from the many vases on which are depicted the prothesis or laying out of the dead and the funeral procession itself. A flute-player and the mourners walked behind the bier, and after the body had been interred or cremated, for both practices were followed in classical Greece, the family returned to the house of a relative to partake of the funeral feast, of which the dead was regarded as the host and by means of which the living established communion with the dead.

The place of interment was without the city wall and generally along a highroad in order that, in a land of dust and mud, the graves might be accessible for the offering of gifts and also doubtless that passers-by might see and admire the funeral monuments erected above them. Along the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis, the tombs of the dead interspersed with shrines and sacred precincts extended for many miles. It might be thought that the traveller approaching Athens by this highway would be oppressed by the sight of so many tombs. But the Greeks, despite their belief in a dim and shadowy hereafter, were less troubled by the reminders of death than the Christian who professes a livelier hope. Indeed, the monuments along the Sacred Way were one of the sights of Greece. The antiquary Polemo devoted an entire book to their description and Pausanias, who travelled that road in the second century after Christ, made notes, which fortunately are preserved to us, of the most important monuments which he saw. Generals and ambassadors, the painter Heliodoros, the tragic actor Theodoros, were among those whose tombs Pausanias admired. It was a great scandal that, near the pass of Daphne where travellers from Eleusis first catch sight of the Acropolis, the Macedonian Harpalos, chargé d'affaires for Alexander, erected a tomb in honour of the courtesan



Grave stele of Pantello marble. Height, 95.5 cm.

Pythionike at a cost of \$100,000. Such extravagance in setting up funeral monuments was more than once the object of special legislation at Athens. Shortly after Solon's time a law was enacted forbidding the erection of a tomb more elaborate than could be built in three days by ten men. This law seems to have fallen into disuse, for Demetrios of Phaleron had a law passed forbidding other monuments than a short column, a flat slab, or a vase. As a result of these measures most of the grave monuments found in our museums today date from a period which falls between the Persian wars and 300 B.C.

Just outside the Sacred Gate at Athens, which, like the Gate of Sorrow in Burma, was devoted to the use of funeral processions, was the potter's field or Kerameikos, and here the graves were so numerous as to constitute a veritable cemetery. To the beauty of the monuments which were set up here Cicero paid tribute when he spoke of "*amplitudines sepulcrorum quas nunc in Ceramico videmus.*" The pride and pomp of the Sacred Way has vanished, but the grave monuments of the Kerameikos, preserved through the centuries under an unusually deep deposit of earth, have been brought to light in our time and may well be considered the most beautiful monuments ever erected to the dead. The excavation of the Kerameikos was begun by the German Archaeological Institute before the war and has lately been resumed by German scholars with funds given by a citizen of Reading, Pennsylvania. Thanks to these researches it is now possible to form a picture of how the sculptured monuments so prized by our museums today were placed. They were set not on the level of the roads but on high podiums of masonry, a conjectural restoration of one of which is shown on page 248 together with the monuments which surmount it. It will be seen that more than one type of stone was used within a family plot; for some members of a family a tall shaft was erected crowned by an anthemion, for others a naiskos or stele deeply set with a gabled roof, for others a flatter rectangular stone. At the corners of a plot and serving as akroteria for the whole construction are set marble lekythoi adorned with the same types of sculptured ornament as are found on the stelai.

The UNIVERSITY MUSEUM has recently acquired three Greek grave monuments which, although their provenance is unstated, were probably set up along some Attic highway, since the material in each case is Pentelic marble. The first of these (page 250) is a



Lekythos of Pentelic marble, foot and upper part of neck missing. Height, 83.2 cm.

fragmentary stele on which is preserved the figure of a seated woman and the bare legs of a smaller figure facing her. Only a portion of the drapery of this second figure is preserved, above the knee next the woman. It seems to indicate the short cloak or *chlamys* worn by men and boys when travelling and suggests that



Mother, father and daughter from the marble lekythos.

the scene represented a young boy taking leave of his mother. The costume of the woman is of some interest. Her sheer undergarment is pinned with brooches along the arms to form sleeves. In the heavier outer garment occur at intervals pairs of short lines which represent the woven pattern of the material and were originally picked out in a colour contrasting with that of the robe itself. The

longer lines which appear on the shoulder and breasts also represent woven stripes once coloured.

The second monument (page 252) is a marble lekythos of the type which appears at the corners of the restored plot on page 248 and which is to be regarded as a translation into stone of the clay



The mother, Kleostrata, and the father, Pythokles, from the marble lekythos.

vases offered at tombs. Above and below the zone of the sculptured figures may be detected bands of carefully tooled stone prepared for the application of coloured pattern, perhaps the meander. The German excavators found in the Kerameikos a marble lekythos with a painted meander below the sculptured field and an elaborate palmette design on the neck, the colours, blue, red, and gold, still

beautifully preserved. On pages 253 to 255 are shown in larger dimensions the three sculptured figures which stand on a slight ledge of marble left in higher relief. A family group is represented; in the centre the father, behind his chair the mother, and grasping her father's hand the young daughter in whose honour we may believe



The daughter, Melitta, from the marble *lekkythos*.

the monument to have been erected. Inscriptions show that parents set up monuments for their children more often than children to their parents. Those who lived to a ripe old age were not so often honoured with a monument as young warriors who died in battle or young wives who died in childbirth. Although the execution of these figures is somewhat summary, they are conceived accord-



Loutrophoros of Pentelic marble. Height, 80.3 cm.

ing to the best Greek tradition. The simple coiffure and the dignified mien of the mother continue the noble traditions of sculpture of the fifth century. There is no trace of the staff on which the hand of the central figure rests, and since there is no perforation between the fingers for the insertion of a staff of bronze, it follows that it



Mother, father and daughter from the marble loutrophoros.

was once rendered in colour. And if the staff, so also the garments, the hair, the chair. The inscriptions also which are carved above the heads of the figures were doubtless coloured. The mother's name is Kleostrata, the daughter's Melitta. The letters over the father's head do not spell any name nor are they a possible combination. They are ITXΘOKAHE. Professor Roland Kent of the

University of Pennsylvania, who has made a special and authoritative study of mistakes in Greek inscriptions, kindly examined these letters for me and offered this very plausible explanation. The stone-cutter was illiterate. The names given him to carve, probably written on a wax tablet, were carelessly formed and the first and



The mother, Demokrateia, from the marble *Isotrophos*.

second letters of this name were actually $\Pi\Upsilon$ but seemed to him to be $\Pi\chi$. The man's name was therefore Pythokles.

Because these figures are named, it does not follow that they are to be regarded as portraits. The Greek sculptor of this period was little interested in the rendering of individual characteristics. His repertory included a wide variety of types and these he com-

bined in different ways to meet the needs of any given monument. The seated man, staff in hand, for example, is a type much used to represent a dignified and respected man of middle age or more. It is closely related to the type used for Asklepios, the god of healing.

The third grave monument is a marble vase of different shape,



The father, Demoteles, and his daughter, Malthake, from the marble *Iontrophoros*.

page 256. The shoulder is rounded in a beautiful curve and still shows remains of bronze rivets by means of which the handles were attached. The remnant of a pour-handle may be seen at the neck. Clay vases of this shape were used to carry water from the spring Kallirrhoe for the bridal bath, and were carried in the wedding procession. If a girl died unmarried, a marble vase of

this shape was set above her tomb in token of her marriage to Pluto. That it was also used for the graves of unmarried youths is shown by a passage in Demosthenes. "What is the proof," he asks, "that Archiades died unmarried? A marriage vase is set up on his tomb."

In the centre of the scene stands the father Demoteles leaning on his staff which, as in the other vase, was once rendered in colour. The figure recalls the elders of the Parthenon frieze or the dignified men who in Greek vase-paintings instruct the youth in athletic contests. He grasps by the hand a slim young girl, whose name Malthake or "soft one" seems appropriate for so gentle a figure. The tragedy of the farewell is scarcely hinted in these two figures, but the mother, Demokrateia, is in the pensive attitude which typifies grief, the same type of figure which is used for the mourning women of the Constantinople sarcophagus. The curving line of her body with the hip thrown outward implies that the sculptor was familiar with the work of the Praxitelean school, so that the vase, in spite of the Phidian look of the other two figures, must be assigned, like the *lekythos*, to the first half of the fourth century. Neither vase is by a great master but both are far nearer the works of great masters than are the copies which were made in Roman times.

THE T. BROOM BELFIELD COLLECTION OF JAPANESE NETSUKÉ

BY HELEN E. FERNALD

FOR flights of pure fun and fancy there is no field of art more prolific than that of the Japanese netsuké. The recent gift to the MUSEUM of an extensive collection of these delightful small carvings in ivory and wood, and their exhibition in Pepper Hall, have been a source of keen enjoyment to many during the last few months. These netsuké, together with other small ivory carvings and one large one, were collected and donated by Mr. T. Broom Belfield, who has long been a member of the MUSEUM's Board of Managers.

Netsuké were articles of use as well as of adornment. They developed in connection with the *sagemono* or hanging things that the Japanese of the last three centuries has worn suspended from his *obi* or sash, the tobacco pouch, the pipe case, and especially the little medicine case or *inro*. The netsuké (pronounced net'ski) was nothing but a button, or toggle, attached to the end of the cord from which hung the pouch, or the inro. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries especially, the netsuké was a common dress accessory, worn by merchant, samurai, artisan, and peasant. The poorer people could, presumably, afford only plain and unpretentious ones, but to supply the demand for more beautiful and amusing examples for the gentleman of means there arose gradually a distinct trade, a field of craftsmanship into which some very well-known artists were drawn. Many artists devoted their lives to the carving, inlaying, and painting of these small objects until the art of the netsuké carver attained a height unequalled, in the estimation of many, by any other class of ivory carvings in the world. For human interest, high technical skill, and originality, many of these delightful little objects surpass anything else akin to them.

The method of wearing the netsuké may be seen from the illustration on page 262, which shows an inro with its cord and attachments. The two ends of a cord which serves to hold the compartments of the little case together, one end issuing from each side, were brought up to meet above the case, where they were run through a button, called an *ojimé*, which could be made to slide up

or down on the cord, thus loosening or tightening the loop. Further up on the cord the two ends were passed through a hole in the netsuké and tied in a tight knot. When the inro was worn, the cord was tucked under the belt so that the inro hung below it and the netsuké above acted as a stop which prevented the cord from slipping down. Small inro of light weight could be held in place by small toggles; large heavy tobacco pouches might require large or long netsuké to anchor them firmly to the sash. The manner of wearing the inro is seen illustrated by one of the netsuké themselves. A charming



Netsuké in wood and ivory. Uzumé, the Laughing Goddess, wearing pouch with netsuké.

piece in the Belfield Collection is the small girlish figure, carved in wood, of the chubby Uzumé, goddess of mirth, standing wrapped in her kimono with a dainty pouch hung from her sash at the back. The hood is of very dark wood to contrast with the light-brown wood of the body, while the face is of ivory like the tiny round netsuké which holds the pouch in place.

Netsuké were usually made of wood or ivory, but other materials were also used, such as bone, horn, pottery, porcelain, metal, lacquer, tortoiseshell, mother of pearl, coral, and stones of various kinds. Combinations of these materials were very skilfully devised, the most usual and pleasing being that of wood and ivory. Many of the

best artists worked only in wood and, as might be expected, the simpler netsuké are generally the finest. The chief woods employed were cherry and box. Occasionally a black wood, possibly teak, was used. In the early nineteenth century there were some extremely clever artists who preferred ivory. We find them using the fine white grained variety of elephant ivory, the coarser walrus ivory, and the beautiful mellow so-called "fossil ivory." Other small figures were carved also but a netsuké may be recognized by the marks of its use, the two connecting holes through which the cord was run. Occasionally one finds that an object not originally intended as a netsuké has been pierced with holes so that it may serve as one.

It is believed that the *manju* type of netsuké, the round flat button in figure 50, was the earliest, that the carving in the round of a small spherical button developed next, and that the more elongated figures, the masks, and such variations followed soon after. Certainly all types were in use together in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

These small works of art fall naturally into groups according to their subject and it is intended to publish from time to time groups of the more interesting netsuké in the Belfield Collection, with the stories they illustrate or the subjects they represent. Since these carvings were made for the commoner as well as for the aristocrat, they cover a wide range of illustration and allusion. Legends and folklore supplied an enormous amount of material; historical subjects and heroes never fail; mythical peoples, gods and goddesses, historical personages and events, scenes and people of everyday life, animals real and imaginary, fishes and other creatures of the sea, illustrations of proverbs, little masks in imitation of those used in the Nô dances and other theatrical performances, figures of the dancers themselves, dragons, birds, fruit, and even the lowly vegetable, all are represented in a variety of ways, in various materials, and usually with a whimsical humour. Parodies abound. One rarely meets with actual caricature, but to poke fun of a good-natured kind was the order of the day and the amusing is depicted with unmistakable comic appreciation. One of the finest netsuké in the collection, for instance, is that here illustrated (figure 9). It represents a laughing man posturing as a crane by standing on one leg, hunching his back, and curving one arm high over his head to form the neck. The long fan is held so as to imitate the beak of the bird. The way in which the performer wraps his left leg around the other is shown in a most comical fashion.

The wood is dark, highly polished, and delicious to the touch. It is a delightful piece. The signature reads Ryū-Kei. This artist lived in Yedo, apparently during the middle of the eighteenth century, and his work was highly praised by his countrymen.

The netsuké carvers had respect for neither gods nor men. Especially do the venerable characters of religious history suffer at



Netsuké of wood: man posturing as a crane.
Signed: Ryū-Kei.

their hands. Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth Indian Buddhist patriarch, revered in Japan as Daruma, founder of the Zen sect of Buddhism, was often the butt of their jokes. The small seated figure shown on page 275, figure 11, represents him, it is true, much as he appears in the serious religious paintings of the time, but the smile is decidedly jovial and the earrings ridiculously prominent and incongruous, being made of ivory set into the dark wood. This netsuké is signed by Shū-min, an artist of the eighteenth century. The other netsuké of Daruma shown on the same page treat him with small reverence. According to Chinese records, Daruma arrived about 526 A. D. at the court of the Emperor Wu Ti in Nanking, then the capital of China. Having offended Wu Ti by fail-

ing to appreciate his good works, Daruma departed, crossed the Yang-tsze on a reed, and proceeded to Loyang, where he lived in the Shao-lin Temple. For nine years, it is said, he sat there in meditation, his face to the wall. This was a subject not to be resisted by the netsuké carver! Figures 14 and 15 represent Daruma enjoying a good yawn and stretch at the end of his nine years of inactivity, and it is evident from the expression on his face that the patriarch has found his

joints rather stiff. Figure 16 shows him seated in meditation, wrapped in a brocade cloak. The face here is very typical, with its squarish shape and mouth drawn down at the corners. One of the jolliest netsuké of all is that of figure 17, a little Daruma in red lacquer and ivory. His body is entirely swathed in the red cloak, his ivory face screwed up humorously in a grimace. Figures 10 and 12 show him crossing the Yang-tsze, in the latter case on his own fly-whisk. And finally we see the lengths to which the netsuké carver would go illustrated in figures 13 and 18, for Daruma is there pictured as having lost his arms and legs through disuse and having become a sort of Humpty Dumpty who must be carried about and cared for by a priest. The priest in one group, the ivory netsuké, is rolling him along the ground and in the other, the wooden netsuké, has tied a rope around him and is carrying him on his back.

Hotei, one of the Seven Gods of Luck, is a favourite with the netsuké makers and is always treated humorously. He was an enormously fat god, always laughing, and was much beloved by children. He carried a huge linen bag (from which he took his name, Ho-tei) full of the Takaramono, precious things, and he sometimes slept in this bag. Figure 20 on page 277 represents him as he most commonly appears, playing with a child. There is no mistaking the fat half-clothed body and laughing face. Even the ear lobes are huge and fleshy. He carries the child pick-a-back and holds a fan in his left hand. Figure 21 illustrates a very good netsuké of Ho-tei sitting in his bag, while figure 19 shows a most unusual and delightful one in which the bag of precious things is so large that the fat Ho-tei carrying it on his back is fairly dwarfed beneath it.

The figure with the exceedingly high bald cranium is Fukurokujiu, another of the Seven Gods of Luck. He is the Japanese counterpart of Shou Lao, the Chinese god of longevity, who seems to have had his origin in Lao-tzŭ, a sage of the sixth century B. C., the founder of Taoism. Because Fukurokujiu is the god of long life, he is represented as old and bearded. The mask netsuké, figure 26, illustrates the character of his countenance, one rather typical feature being the three lines between his eyebrows. He is usually accompanied by the symbols of longevity, such as the deer, the crane, and the tortoise. Figure 27 shows him riding a stag and figure 22 depicts him as a tortoise, or holding his cloak in such a way as to simulate the shell. Children are fascinated by his elongated skull, and many netsuké represent him playing with children who climb upon his huge

bald pate or run along at his side, as in figure 25. He is shown in figure 24 stretching and yawning as if in imitation of Daruma. Most amusing of all, however, is the fine wooden netsuké pictured in figure 23 in which the god's cranium is represented as so enormously high that the barber, who appears to be the god Daikoku in this case, must climb a ladder in order to shave its top.

Shōki, the Demon-Queller, appears constantly among the netsuké subjects. Although he is properly a purely mythical being, he is connected traditionally with a historical personage, a student who lived in China during the early T'ang Dynasty. Having failed in the Imperial examinations he committed suicide. When the Emperor heard of this, he gave orders that this student, Shiushi Shōki, should be buried with high honours. In gratitude for this Shōki's spirit promised to spend its time forever in expelling demons from China. This story appealed tremendously to the carvers of netsuké, who depict Shōki as a fierce but rather impotent menace to the demon tribe. Dressed in armour and carrying a huge sword, he hunts demons and occasionally catches one, but is more frequently shown as the loser in the chase and the victim of their pranks. Figure 29 reproduces a fine ivory netsuké signed by Hidemasa. The scowling Demon-Queller has caught one small *oni*, or demon, by the hair and is fiercely looking around for the other, quite oblivious of the fact that that imp, grinning gleefully, is hiding on the top of his big hat. Shōki's beard and the hair of the two *oni* are coloured black and details of the armour and embroidered cloak are beautifully engraved. Figure 31 shows Shōki being tormented by an *oni* which has climbed upon his back. One of the most amusing examples of the Shōki subject is that illustrated in the netsuké of figure 28. Here he has caught an *oni* and has tied him securely into a roll of matting which he carries on his back. With folded arms he stands listening to the *oni*'s cries of rage while an expression of complacent self-satisfaction announces: "I've disposed of *him*." Again Shōki appears, foiled this time, in a delightful wooden netsuké, figure 30, where he peers down a well after an *oni* which has descended the well rope to escape. The little demon, incidentally, serves as the *ojimé*.

The strange looking people who appear on the same page as the Shōki netsuké are Ashinaga and Tenaga. These mythical men were said to live in North China on the sea coast. The Ashinaga were long-legged men with very short arms while the Tenaga were very long-armed men with short legs. They lived upon fish which

they hunted in pairs. The Tenaga caught the fish with his long arms while perched on the back of his long-legged companion who could, of course, wade far out into the sea. They are often shown catching an octopus, as in figures 32 and 34. Occasionally one is represented separately as in figure 33, which depicts an Ashinaga standing looking helpless and silly with the octopus held tightly in front of him. Ashinaga and Tenaga, shown together, often stood as a symbol of mutual helpfulness and cooperation.

A little goddess of rank similar to that of the Seven Gods of Luck is the laughing Uzumé, goddess of mirth. The most delightful representation of her has already been described (figure 1) but the collection contains a number of other charming examples, for she was a favourite subject and often appears as a netsuké. Her narrow forehead with its two small ornamental spots (not always represented), her chubby puffed-out cheeks, and small smiling mouth make her easy to recognize. Figure 42 shows an adorable little Uzumé in red lacquer with a most exquisitely engraved embroidery design on her gown. Figure 41 is a wooden mask of her and 39 is another carved in darker wood and showing a slight variation from type in the arrangement of the hair, which is usually parted in the middle and drawn smoothly back on each side.

She appears again in figure 43, a cluster of eight masks carved in ivory, and including a Kitsune (fox), Hiortoko, Obeshimi, two oni and others. Uzumé's full name was Ama-no-Uzumé-no Mikoto and she is first mentioned in myth as one of the goddesses who helped to entice Amaterasu-ô-mi-kami, the sun goddess, out of the cave in which she had hidden, a story of early Japan which will be told in a future article.



30

Netsuké of wood: Shôki the Demon-Queller peering down a well after an oni which has climbed down the rope to escape.

On page 273 may be seen two small netsuké illustrating the story of Kiyohimé. According to this legend, the holy monk Anchin was accustomed to stop at an inn at Masago whenever he came on pilgrimage to a certain shrine near by, and here he would play with the innkeeper's little daughter Kiyohimé, pet her, and bring her small presents from time to time, never dreaming that he was encouraging something more than affection. But as she grew older Kiyohimé's childish love for the priest became a fiery passion which burned more fiercely with every rejection of its proffers until it turned into a mad hatred. In desperation, finally, the monk fled into the temple, the girl in hot pursuit, and hid under the huge bell, ten feet high, which hung there. Kiyohimé, beside herself with rage, dashed wildly towards him. As she approached the bell, the framework supporting it gave way and it dropped down over the priest, imprisoning him beneath it. Foiled, the madwoman flung herself upon the bell, and as she did so her figure began to change, her face became that of an ugly witch, her body turned into that of a scaly dragon. Writhing furiously about the bell she struck it again and again while flames burst out from all parts of her body. Beneath the terrific heat the great bell became red hot and finally melted, Kiyohimé and Anchin both perishing in the molten mass of metal while, praying vainly, the horrified priests of the temple stood helpless by. A little handful of white ashes was all that was left of the priest, and of Kiyohimé there was not a trace. This legend was made into a Nō play called *Do-jo-ji* and the story became quite popular. Figure 3 shows a fine netsuké of Kiyohimé in a rage. It is made of wood lacquered and gilded; the hair is bright red, and the face, hands, and feet are of ivory. Kiyohimé coiled about the bell is the theme of figure 4.

Kuan Yü, the Chinese god of war, is the subject of a number of netsuké. He is shown in figures 6 and 7, dressed in Chinese costume, holding his long beard with the left hand while his right grasps a terrible halberd. In figure 6, which is of "fossil ivory," he wears armour in combination with his robes. Kuan Yü was an actual historical personage, a seller of bean curd in the time of the Three Kingdoms. In 184 A. D. he fell in with Liu Pei, a man of royal descent and of the military profession, and with Chang Fei, a blue-eyed, red-haired butcher who owned a garden. It was there that the three swore the famous "peach garden oath" of fast friendship, that they would share the same fortune and fight, live, and die together.

The exciting adventures of the trio are well known in Chinese history. Liu Pei finally became master of Ssüchuan and ruler of the Minor Han Kingdom (221-223 A. D.). Kuan Yü was one of his most powerful generals, a man famed for his prodigious feats of bravery and strength. He was renowned also for his faithfulness to his friend. One of the best known stories about him concerns his actions at the time he was captured by Ts'ao Ts'ao. The Ladies Kan and Mi, two of the wives of Liu Pei, were also among the prisoners and all were sent off to Ts'ao's capital together. While on the journey Ts'ao, to test Kuan Yü's fidelity to Liu Pei, assigned his three most important captives to the same bedchamber. But Kuan Yü foiled the tempter by standing all night at the door of the room holding a lighted candle in one hand and his drawn sword in the other, as guard and protector to the sleeping ladies. Ts'ao Ts'ao admired him greatly and would have had him join his own ranks, but Kuan Yü remained faithful to his old friend and returned to Liu Pei as soon as he was released. As Liu Pei's general, he was his right hand in all the battles and campaigns by which he made secure his position as Emperor of Shu. Kuan Yü was at last captured and put to death by Sun Ch'uan, a rebel brother-in-law of Liu Pei. He was the most celebrated of China's military heroes and was canonized as an immortal in 1128 and raised to the rank of Wang, Prince. In 1594 he was deified as the god of war, Kuan Ti.

Another very fine netsuké is that illustrated on page 273, figure 5. The subject is Tadamori and the Oil Thief. Tadamori lived in Japan in the middle of the twelfth century and was the founder of the great Taira clan. At the time of the incident related in this story he was a young officer in the Imperial Guards. One of his duties was to accompany the Emperor Shira-Kawa-Hono on his visits to his concubine, the beautiful lady Gion Niogio who lived on the other side of the Gion Temple in Kyoto. To reach her house they had to pass through a grove of trees on the south side of the temple. One dark night in May when the rain was falling in torrents the Emperor with his young protector at his side was going by this grove when a strange apparition came stealing in and out among the trees. It seemed to have bristling hair standing out all over its head like shining wire, its face was scarlet, and light issued at intervals from its head. Much alarmed at the sight of such a monster, the Emperor paused while Tadamori went bravely forward to inspect it. As the strange ghostly thing passed him in the gloom and rain Tadamori sprang

upon it desperately. To his surprise it offered little resistance and was soon overpowered. And no wonder, for it was neither ghost nor monster, but a poor temple servant going the rounds of the lanterns in the temple grounds to replenish the oil in them. The dilapidated straw of his rain hat and rain coat had made the impression of bushy hair, and the eerie flickering that had frightened the two travellers so much had been caused by the small torch he held in his hand and which flamed up whenever he blew upon it. One version of the story says that the servant was not replenishing the oil in the lanterns but stealing it from them, hence the term Oil Thief. The netsuké shows Tadamori bravely seizing what he took to be a goblin, while the wretched man, holding his vessel of stolen oil in his hand, laughs derisively.

A few of the netsuké depicting animals, fish, sea creatures, nuts, and vegetables, are shown here on pages 281 and 283. Figure 35 might be termed a "still life" group consisting of various shells: clam, listened to by mermaids; cowry, emblem of wealth; conch with a hermit crab in it; scallop; abaloné shell and sea urchin; two kinds of star fish; and a common crab. Figure 37 is a cluster of chestnuts and acorns, the former being a symbol of success because of a play upon the meaning of the word for chestnut, *kachiguri*, in which *kachi* means success. A tiny ladybug on one of the chestnuts is realistically coloured red and brown. A large frog walks over the shells in figure 40. Figure 38 shows a big gourd, emblem of longevity. The netsuké pictured in figure 36 is rich in allegory, the pair of fish being a Chinese symbol for happiness through a play on the word *fu*, which means fish and also happiness. The fish are lying on some fern leaves, Japanese symbols of exuberant prosperity; a branch with peach leaves is folded over the edge, signifying long life, and the little mouse perched upon them all is a quaint fancy of the carver. Another good fish netsuké is that illustrated on page 273, where figure 8 represents carp leaping a waterfall, a common Japanese symbol of perseverance.

The subject of Japanese netsuké can hardly be mentioned without a word about the animals which are so beautifully represented. Many of them are the most realistic little carvings imaginable. Page 283 shows a group picked out more or less at random from among the dozens in the Belfield Collection. A number of the netsuké artists made a specialty of animals, just as was the case among painters of the same period. Indeed the carvers fell under the

influence of the schools of naturalistic painting which flourished during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Shijo, Maruyama, and Ukiyo-yê, and just as the painter Sosen was famous for his pictures of deer and of monkeys, and Ganku for his tigers, so Ichi-kwan (or Ikkuan) was noted for his carvings of rats and Tomotada for his oxen netsuké. An exquisitely carved example by Tomotada is illustrated in figure 51, showing a buffalo lying down with halter and leading rope. The modelling is very fine and the hair delicately but richly indicated. Another is depicted on the button of figure 50, engraved in sunken relief, while the willow tree on the reverse is more lightly engraved. This netsuké is, however, signed by Hidémasa, another well-known carver. The horse of figure 48 shows a similar attempt at foreshortening and is a netsuké of very popular type, well suited for the use to which it was put. The ivory puppy netsuké, figure 52, is a very attractive example and has a fine mellowness and pleasing texture.

Monkeys were a favourite subject for netsuké and some of this class are extremely clever and amusing. Figure 44 is an ivory one in which the hair is very realistically engraved and coloured. It gives the impression of being of wood. The monkey is represented as examining through tortoiseshell spectacles—real tortoiseshell—a netsuké carved in the shape of a flower and attached to the cord of a large inro having five sections. It is signed Shō-min. Figure 47 is not so well carved but illustrates the typical humour of the netsuké carver. Figure 49 is an example of parody, the monkey sitting on the goat being intended to burlesque Fukurokujiu riding the stag. Figure 46 is one of Masanao's rats, for which he was famous. The little creature is coiled up into a ball and looks so real that one almost expects it to uncurl and scamper away. Finally the hare of figure 45 must be noticed. This netsuké, of mellow old ivory, illustrates the legend of the hare in the moon, which is a very ancient Chinese symbol of long life. For the hare in the moon pounds the elixir of immortality in a mortar and here he may be seen standing on his hind legs with both front paws holding the pestle while he looks knowingly at you with his mild pink eyes of inlaid stone. Beneath his feet are cloud forms. This delightful little netsuké is signed Shigémasa.

Of the wealth of art and legend, history and everyday life represented in the Belfield Collection these few examples give but a slight idea. Among the six hundred and thirty-four carvings there are netsuké of almost every known type and subject, a veritable storehouse of material for the story-teller and the artist.

2. Inro of lacquer inlaid with abalone shell and stones; 5 compartments.

Ojime of metal: a shojo seated on its saké bowl holding the drinking bowl over its head.

Netsuké of ivory: a small Karashishi on a pedestal.

3. Kiyohimé in a rage: wood lacquered in red and gold; face, hands, and feet of ivory.

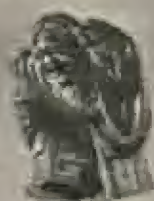
4. Kiyohimé wrapped around the bell: wood. Signed, Min-kō (1735-1810).

5. Tadamori and the oil thief: ivory.

6. Kuan Yü standing with his sword: ivory.

7. Kuan Yu: ivory.

8. Carp leaping a waterfall: ivory.



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10. Daruma crossing the Yang-tsze: ivory, by Setsu-sai, 19th century.

11. Daruma seated in meditation: wood, earrings of ivory. Signed, Shū-min, 18th century.

12. Daruma crossing the Yang-tsze on his fly-whisk. Signed,

13. Daruma carried by a priest: wood, by Minkoku.

14. Daruma standing, yawning and stretching, with his fly-whisk at his feet: wood, eyes and teeth of ivory.

15. Daruma seated, stretching and yawning: wood, robe painted red.

16. Daruma seated, wrapped in his robe: ivory (by Ji-aki?).

17. Daruma seated, wrapped in a red robe: lacquer and ivory.

18. Daruma being rolled along by a priest: ivory, by Masahiro.



10



11



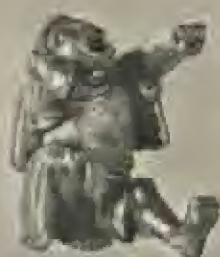
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19. Hotei carrying his bag: ivory.
20. Hotei with a child on his shoulder: ivory, by Yoshi-tomo.
21. Hotei sitting in his bag: ivory, by Kô-gioku.
22. Fukurokujiu holding his cloak so as to simulate a tortoise: wood, by Shû-ichi.
23. Fukurokujiu seated, with Daikoku as barber on a ladder [shaving the top of his tall head: wood, by Hô-jitsu, middle of 19th century.
24. Fukurokujiu yawning and stretching: wood, by Shû-getsu, middle of 19th century.
25. Two children playing with Fukurokujiu: ivory.
26. Mask of Fukurokujiu (or Shiwajo?): wood.
27. Fukurokujiu on the stag: ivory.



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28. Shōki, the Demon Queller, standing with folded arms; on his back an oni securely tied up in matting: ivory.

29. Shōki holding one demon by the hair while another hides on top of his big hat: ivory, by Hidémasa, end of 18th century.

31. Shōki, teased by an oni which has climbed on his back: ivory.

32. Ashinaga and Tenaga catching an octopus: ivory, by Tomomasa.

33. An Ashinaga holding an octopus: wood.

34. Ashinaga and Tenaga catching an octopus: ivory.



28



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32



33



31



34

35. Group of shells, star-fish, and a crab: ivory, by Gyoku-hō-sai.
36. Pair of fish, leaves, and a mouse: ivory.
37. Chestnuts, acorns, and a lady-bug: ivory, by Gyoku-hō-sai.
38. Large gourd on a vine: ivory.
39. Mask of laughing Uzumé: wood.
40. Frog on shells: ivory.
41. Mask of Uzumé: wood.
42. Uzumé: wood lacquered in red.
43. Cluster of masks including one of Uzumé: ivory.



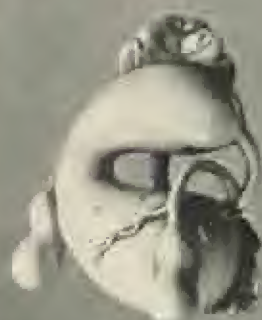
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44. Monkey examining a netsuké through tortoiseshell spectacles: ivory, by Shō-min.

45. Hare pounding the elixir of immortality in a mortar: ivory, by Shige-masa.

46. A rat: wood, by Masanao.

47. Monkey picking lice from the head of her young one: ivory.

48. Horse: ivory.

49. Monkey on a goat in imitation of Fukurokujiu: ivory.

50. Manju with engraving of a buffalo under a willow tree: ivory, signed Hidemasa.

51. Buffalo reclining: ivory, by Tomo-tada.

52. Puppy: ivory, by Kō-gyoku.



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51



52

AN EGYPTIAN KURSI

BY CORNELIA H. DAM

DURING the year 1923 the MUSEUM added to its Arabic collection an exceptionally fine *kursi*, or table, of brass inlaid with silver, which was made for the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, En-Nāsir Mohammed, in the fourteenth century. Not only is this *kursi* an exquisite thing in itself, but as an example of Saracenic metalwork it typifies the best period of that craft in Egypt.

After the Mohammedans, in their wars to extend the power of Islam, conquered Egypt in 641 A.D., they ruled it for the succeeding three centuries from Damascus and Baghdad, through governors, one or two of whom, able to assert their independence, were successful in establishing brief local dynasties. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the Fatimite khalifs from Tunis ruled and founded Cairo. Then in 1172 Saladin was sent by the Sultan of Damascus into Egypt to foment revolt; he succeeded in deposing the last Fatimite sultan and, ascending the throne, founded the Ayyūbid dynasty, which was so important in European history at the time of the Crusades.

About the time of the Crusade of St. Louis, to protect himself against invading Franks and rival kinsmen, Sultan Es-Sālih imported from the north of Asia Minor numbers of Turkish soldier-slaves, the *Mamelukes* (i.e. "owned"), who, fearless warriors and loyal servants, frequently rose to positions of wealth and importance in the Egyptian court, and in the middle of the thirteenth century finally usurped the Sultanate.

So began the most brilliant period of Egypt's history under Mohammedan rule, the age when Turkish and Tartar sultans, boasting of their servile descent, ruled Egypt in a ruthless military despotism and fostered to its richest flowering every branch of art. The seventh Mameluke sultan in the first thirty years of Mameluke rule was one El-Mānsur Seif-ed-din Kalāūn, who had been a slave of the old Ayyūb sultan Es-Sālih and never failed in his inscriptions to claim the title of "el Sālehi" which might be translated "liegeman of Es-Sālih." The En-Nāsir for whom our *kursi* was made was Kalāūn's son and reigned intermittently



Kursi made for the Mameluke sultan Melik en-Nasir in the fourteenth century.

from 1294 to 1341 A.D. Kalāūn in the Mongolian language means "duck," and so we find the house of Kalāūn using the duck as a blazon, and groups of beautifully inlaid silver ducks such as appear in the corners and in medallions on our kursi at once identify a piece of metalwork as having belonged to the family of Kalāūn.

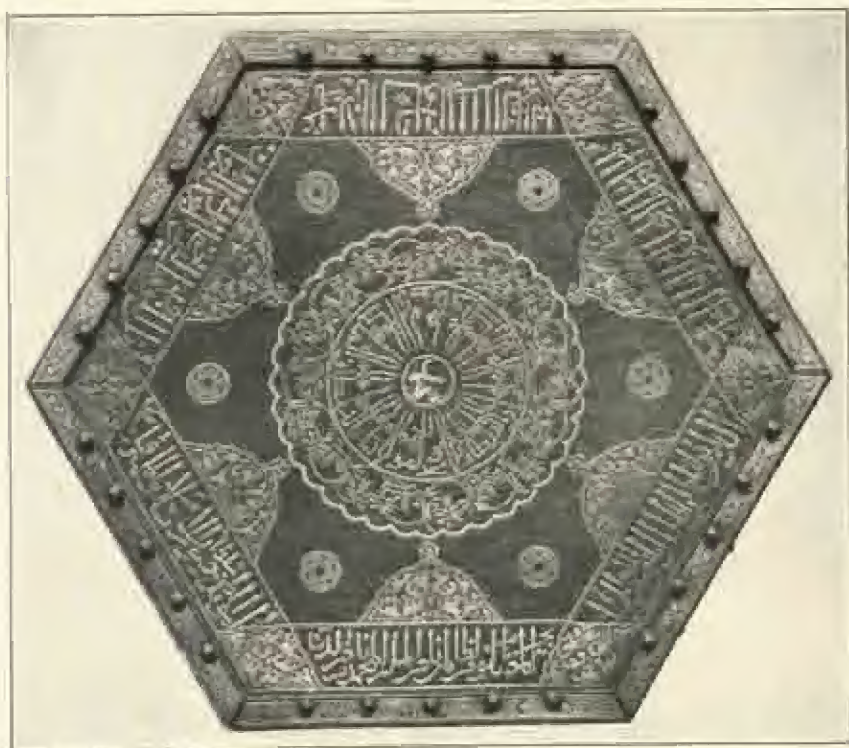
Very little metalwork of the periods in Egypt previous to that of the Mamelukes has survived, so that it is difficult to say whether the superb examples of inlaid brass produced in Cairo in the fourteenth century followed the traditions of older native Egyptian craftsmen, who in turn inherited their style and technique from Greek and Byzantine artists, or whether it is a local development of the ancient Persian craft which must have been imported by the governors of Egypt from Damascus and Baghdad.

The metalwork of Egypt in the fourteenth century, while showing the influence of the craftsmen of Syria and Persia, has a style all its own which, once seen, could never be confused with the other styles. The Persian craft, of which Mosul was the centre, is characterized by multitudinous figures of human and animal forms, elaborately chased, whereas the more orthodox Egyptian work shows a predominance of inscriptions, rosettes, and floral or vine motifs and arabesques. The best work of the two schools can be studied and compared in the Arabic room of the MUSEUM where near the kursi of En-Nāsir stands a superb ewer of the thirteenth century from Mosul.

The patience of the Saracen craftsman, famous in the middle ages from Spain to India for his fine works in metal, is almost beyond our comprehension today. For a table such as the one in the MUSEUM collections, designs would have to be drawn by a first-rate artist and transferred to the sheets of brass of which the table is composed. After patient chiselling had reduced the large panels of the table to the transparent delicacy of fine lace and engraving tools had covered every inch with minute floral patterns, whorls, vines, and arabesques, the work was ready for the silver inlay. This tedious task was accomplished by chiselling out the design to be inlaid and undercutting the edges, after which the silver inlay was hammered into the recesses thus prepared for it and was burnished with agate or jade. Even the inlay itself, except in inscriptions, was elaborately and minutely chased.

This kursi, which is hexagonal and supported on six feet, stands two feet eight inches high and measures nine inches on each side.

The elaborately pierced and engraved plates of which the sides are composed are held in place by heavy tooled and inlaid upright supports studded with ornamental nails at the corners, and by five horizontal bands engraved with the names and titles of En-Nāsir. These bands divide each side into four panels, two small and two large. In the upper larger panel of one side is an exquisitely wrought and hinged little double door which opens into a compartment inside the table. The tray forming the floor of this compartment



Top of the kursi.

is engraved with letters which owing to their position cannot be read. The table was probably used as a support for a fine engraved and inlaid tray on which the food of the owner would be served to him, while a charcoal fire in the little compartment would keep the dishes warm.

The top of the kursi, which is solid and entirely covered with minute engraving, contains the finest work. In the centre of it, in large silver letters, is the name of the Prophet Mohammed. Encircling this is an inscription in beautiful Cufic characters giving the names and titles of En-Nāsir. Outside of this and completing

the large central medallion is a circle of ornamental inlay in a delicate vine pattern.

An inscription runs around the outer edge, parallel with the sides, and interrupted at each angle by charming groups of ducks inlaid in silver. Beginning at the side above the door the inscription reads:

Glory to our Lord the Sultan, Melik en-Nāsir,
The just ruler, fighter for the Faith, warden of Islam, celebrated in poetry;
Having posterity (i.e. to succeed him), son of the Sultan, the Melik Mānsur
Kalāūn Sālehi,
Protector of the oppressed from the oppressor,
Defender of the Mohammedan Faith, aid of the State,
The blessed, the victorious Sultan of Islam and of the Moslems, slayer of
the infidels and idolaters, upholder of justice in the world.

A similar inscription appears inlaid in the two narrower panels of the sides and is repeated on the narrow horizontal bands which hold the sides together:

Glory to our Master, the Sultan, the Melik en-Nāsir, defender of the State
and of the Faith, son of the Sultan, the Melik el-Mānsur, the exalted Kalāūn
Sālehi.

On the doors and in the larger compartments of the sides are medallions containing names or titles from the above inscriptions, delicate little echoes of the main design on the top.

The style of metalwork of which this kursi is such a splendid example seems to have developed mainly in the reign of En-Nāsir, to which period the few finest specimens known belong. There are several very similar kursi in the Arab Museum in Cairo, one of which, almost a duplicate of ours, bears practically the same inscriptions. The British Museum possesses a deep bowl made for En-Nāsir, and the South Kensington Museum has a splendid inlaid tray such as must have been used in connection with our kursi.

En-Nāsir ascended the throne when only a child of nine years upon the assassination of his elder brother, El Ashraf Khalif, who had distinguished himself by capturing Acre, last stronghold of the Crusaders in Palestine, and had finally expelled the Franks from the Holy Land. En-Nāsir had a difficult and hazardous career, like most of the Mameluke sultans. He was once deposed and once he abdicated, but from 1310 until his death he ruled suc-

cessfully and magnificently. Like most of the Mamelukes he was treacherous, unscrupulous, and relentless towards his rivals and his enemies and never hesitated to employ assassins or poison to rid himself of a danger. But to the great majority of his subjects he was just and magnanimous. Taxes were lightened and many public works were executed. Besides some thirty mosques he is said to have built numerous canals, fountains, baths and schools, the existing remains of which attest the high pitch of art that architecture attained during his reign.

The magnificence and extravagance of his court seem almost incredible to us today. He kept a standing army of twenty-four thousand Mameluke cavalry, each one having his own fief and villains very much as did mediæval European barons.

En-Nāsir was insignificant in appearance and so lame that he was obliged to use a stick when walking. He was himself no soldier but so astute a politician that he made himself respected throughout the Moslem East and Southern Europe. He left his throne so firmly established that it remained in the hands of his descendants for forty years after his death—a very long time for the turbulent age of the Mamelukes.

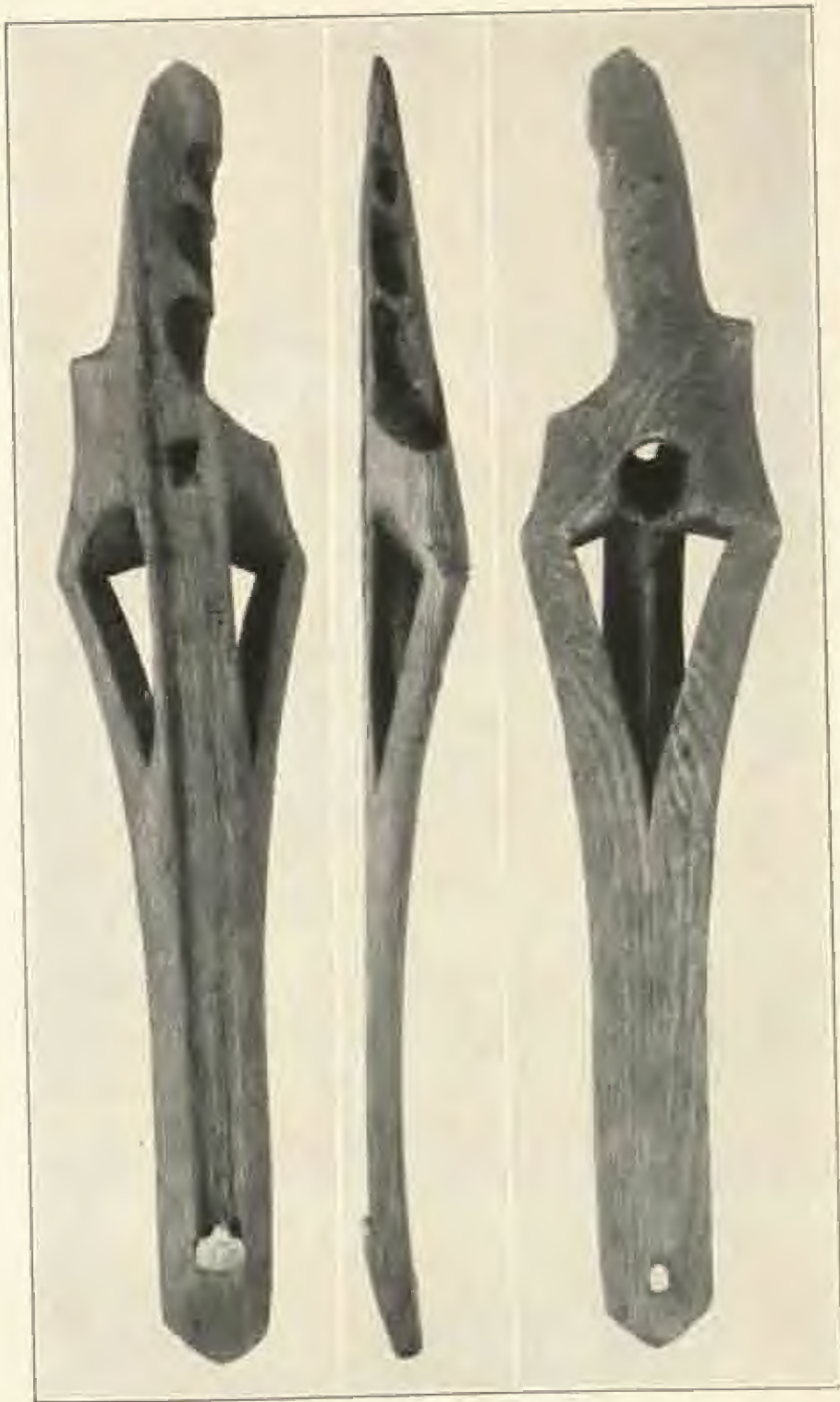
SOME UNUSUAL SPEARTHROWERS OF ANCIENT AMERICA

BY J. ALDEN MASON

THE spearthrower is one of the most remarkable of the inventions of primitive man and for that reason has ever been of great interest to the anthropologist, to whom its history, distribution, and diverse forms reveal much concerning the psychology and racial relationships of its makers. In the older literature it was more often known as a "throwing-board" or "throwing-stick," but as these terms denote a missile rather than an implement, in the last thirty years they have been abandoned in favour of the accepted modern term "spearthrower."

The spearthrower was not only probably the most interesting, but apparently also one of the earliest inventions of primitive man, preceding even the bow and arrow. While the latter is not known from prehistoric Europe, the most ancient region known archaeologically, before the Neolithic period, the beginning of which is estimated at about ten thousand years ago, beautifully carved spearthrowers, made of antler and bone, are among the most characteristic objects of the Magdalenian epoch, the last period of the Palæolithic. France and Switzerland have supplied practically all the known examples.

The age of the Magdalenian era is generally estimated at from about 15000 to 11000 B.C. (Archæologists give such estimates with considerable hesitation, for there are no accurate data on which to base them in terms of years, but human nature—and this includes the archæologist himself—insists on such approximations, so the expert must give them to the best of his ability, admitting that they may be incorrect by centuries or millenniums.) Since, however, primitive man the world over, so far as our knowledge goes, made his first implements of wood, a perishable substance which under the most favourable conditions could not be preserved for more than a very few thousands of years, archæologists presume that the manufacture of implements of wood preceded by ages that of the first similar object made of some harder substance. It is reasonably safe to presume, then, that the spearthrower was first invented long before the period represented by the beautifully

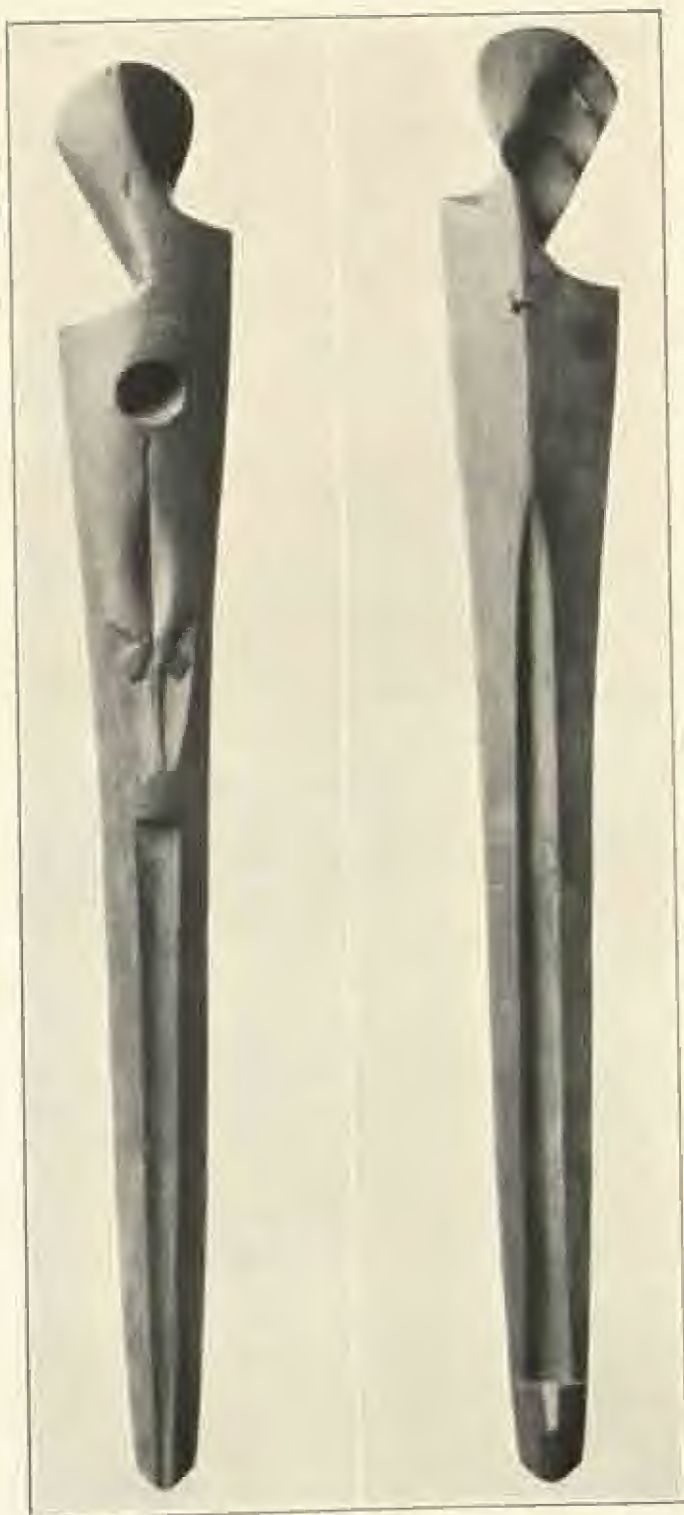


Old Eskimo "Thule Culture" speurthrower from an ancient dwelling at Point Barrow, Alaska.

carved specimens of Magdalenian age, and possibly not long after the first use of the spear itself. Spear points made of bone first appear in the Aurignacian period at the beginning of the Upper Palaeolithic Age, possibly twenty-five thousand years ago, but how many millenniums before this spears with points hardened by fire, and possibly thrown by the spearthrower, were used, we can but guess. The spearthrower is, then, an implement of great age.

That the spearthrower should have preceded its more efficient cousin, the bow, is not surprising. Simple as it seems, the latter is a much more complex weapon than the spearthrower. Its invention and manufacture required the realization of the force of springy wood and the possibility of its application and control, and the choice of proper materials for bow and cord. The realization, on the other hand, that greater force, distance and penetrating power could be given to a spear, dart or javelin by lengthening the throwing arm, must have occurred to an undersized warrior soon after first being outranged by a taller opponent. The proof of this is to be found in the Antipodes, the world's uttermost outpost from an ethnological standpoint, where we find an epitome and a recapitulation of the early history of spearthrower and bow. In New Guinea the Papuans, people of relatively low culture, use both the spearthrower and the bow and arrow. The knowledge of the bow has reached Northern Australia, just across Torres Straits from New Guinea, but throughout the rest of that immense island the degraded, or rather extremely backward, Australians use the spearthrower but are ignorant of the bow, while in that Ultima Thule of the world, Tasmania, the now extinct inhabitants who were practically in the Palaeolithic Age in the nineteenth century, knew neither bow nor spearthrower.

The spearthrower may be described as a device for lengthening the arm in order that it may give greater speed, and consequently greater distance and penetrating power, to the thrown spear, by means of the greater distance through which the propulsive power could be applied. Thus a man whose arm could be applied to the spear throughout an arc of eight feet—advancing, as is usual, one step during the throw—could, by the use of an ordinary spearthrower, increase this arc to eleven feet. It is claimed that the additional power thus derived increases the speed of the spear several times, so that surprising distances may be achieved by its use.



Alaskan Eskimo spearthrower in the National Museum, Washington, which displays points of resemblance with the "Thule Culture" specimen.

The spearthrower possesses several other advantages over the bow, so that it remained, and even still remains, one of the principal arms of certain peoples rather high in the cultural scale who also possess bows and other more complex weapons. The spearthrower requires but one hand for its manipulation, while the bow and arrow require both hands. The former is therefore better adapted to hunting from boats, especially if the shooting must be done from a seated position. This explains the persistence of the weapon among such relatively highly specialized groups as the Eskimo. For similar reasons it was much employed by the two great empires of aboriginal America, the Peruvians, and the Aztecs of Mexico. Their armies, fighting in masses in more or less open country, used the spearthrower extensively, the left arm probably being employed to hold the shield.

The spearthrower is known from many parts of the world, from prehistoric France, from Melanesia and from Australia as has been mentioned, from Micronesia, from northeastern Asia and from several parts of America. We shall limit our present discussion to the latter region.

Since the spearthrower is obviously an invention of great age in Europe and is found in scattered localities throughout the world, as well as in several widely separated portions of America and among the relics of its oldest populations, it is generally believed that it was not an independent invention in America but was one of the weapons possessed by the original immigrants to America. These, it is believed, were about on the cultural level of the Magdalenian period and probably entered America at about that time.

In America the spearthrower is used at present in only three regions, widely separated. The Eskimo, throughout their vast extent from Alaska to Greenland and Labrador, still employ it as one of their most efficient weapons, certain of the tribes of the Amazon forests still manufacture and use it, and in Mexico, the modern Tarascan Indians of certain villages on the shores of Lake Patzeuaro in Michoacan, though comparatively civilized in most of their life and customs, still employ it in hunting wild fowl from their dugout boats.

In former days, however, the use of the spearthrower was much more widespread. As we have seen, it is probable that, at the time of the first occupation of America, it was universally employed by the slightly differentiated tribes of low culture who covered the

land, but no specimens from this period exist, and the belief is pure theory. Specimens have been discovered, however, from the pre-Cliff-Dweller remains of Utah and the surrounding regions, made by the very early people known as the Basket Makers; from remains of uncertain, though undoubtedly pre-Columbian, age in Florida; from pre-Columbian graves on the coast of Peru and in Ecuador and Colombia; and from the Aztecs of the time of Montezuma and Cortes. The predecessors of the Aztecs, the Toltecs, also employed the spearthrower, as did the Haitians at the time of Columbus, and certain Californian Indians of a century and a half ago. These regions are represented by only from one to thirty known specimens each, all therefore of great value and rarity. The MUSEUM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA possesses some of the rarest and most famous of these, which, together with several more specimens of exceptional interest recently secured and heretofore undescribed, form the topic of the present article.

A SPEARTHROWER FROM THE ANCIENT ESKIMO THULE CULTURE

In 1919 W. B. Van Valin was collecting material from the present and past Eskimo in the region of Point Barrow, the northernmost cape of Alaska. One of his Eskimo helpers one day discovered some human bones protruding from a mound of earth. Investigation revealed that a group of mounds in the immediate neighbourhood which had always been considered by the natives as of natural origin were in fact the remains of ancient houses which had fallen in. The modern Eskimo had no knowledge or tradition of any village at that place and it was evident that the site was of considerable age. Excavation revealed, even to unscientifically trained eyes, marked differences between the contents of the houses and those of the present Eskimo. To mention a few points, no tobacco pipes or evidence of the use of tobacco were found, no nets for fishing or sealing, and no labrets, the ornamental plugs inserted through the lips, which are universally worn by Alaskan Eskimo men at the present time. It is interesting to note that, upon other grounds, it has long been believed that the use of tobacco and of nets is of recent adoption among the Eskimo, Van Valin's discovery being corroborative of this theory. The skeletal remains, of which a large and valuable series was recovered, were recently measured by Dr. Aleš Hrdlička of the United States National Museum in Washington, who found that they represent a type rather different

from that of the modern Alaskan Eskimo and identical with the Eskimo of Greenland and Labrador. In explanation of this interesting and important discovery it is suggested that the present rather variant type of the Alaskan Eskimo may be due to his mixture with the more broadheaded Indian of the interior, and that before such mixture took place, at the time of the building of these old houses, the Eskimo physical type was homogeneous from Alaska to Labrador.

The artefacts found in these houses are typical of one phase of what is known as the Thule Culture, the ancient Eskimo culture which, in a relatively homogeneous form somewhat different from that of today, extended throughout practically the entire Eskimo area, at least from Greenland to Bering Strait. In the eastern Arctic the age of this culture is estimated at from about 500 to 1500 A.D. These estimates are based upon changes in sea level, but the same observations do not apply to Alaska. The Thule Culture there is of less certain age, but is probably of practically the same period as that of the eastern area.

Prominent among the artefacts from one of these houses was a wooden spearthrower of unusual type and excellent workmanship. It is difficult to believe that it could have been covered with damp soil even for a decade, not to say many centuries, yet in soil that is permanently frozen and never thawed, organic products will be preserved practically eternally. This has been shown by the discoveries of remains of mammoths with hide and hair intact in frozen tundras of Siberia.

The spearthrower is one of the most typical and characteristic of Eskimo implements. Although the culture of the Eskimo is relatively quite high and they possess numerous most efficient inventions, many more than most Indian tribes, yet they have retained the spearthrower and still make great use of it, mainly because of the ease with which the harpoon can be cast with one hand from their light skin boats or kayaks in spite of numb, gloved hands. The Eskimo spearthrower exists in many different types, each one characteristic of a definite locality. These forms have been studied and classified, so that it is possible to determine, with reasonable certainty, the district where any Eskimo spearthrower was made.

The Eskimo Thule Culture spearthrower illustrated on page 291 is very different from any of the modern types and, what is



Speargun of the Basket Makers, the earliest sedentary agricultural people of the American Southwest. This was the first speargun discovered from the interior of North America and the most famous of its type.

more surprising, is of superior grade from technical, utilitarian, and æsthetic points of view.

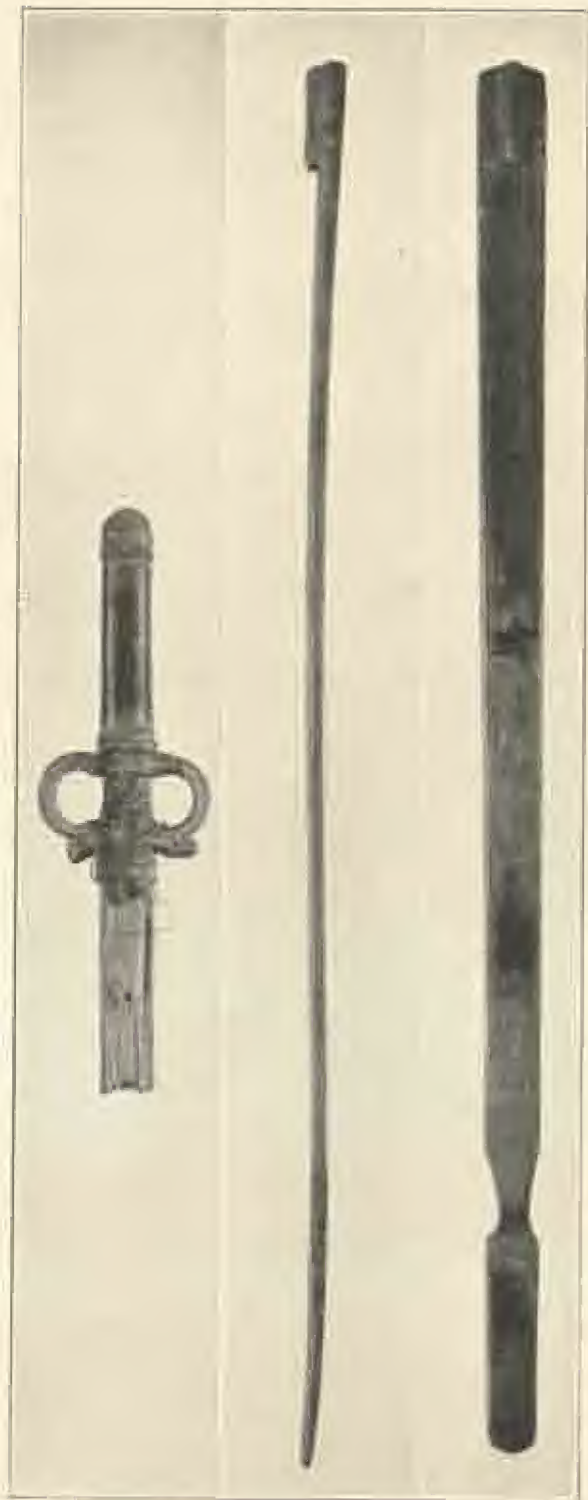
The Eskimo Thule Culture has been carefully investigated only within the last few years. The fullest report upon it¹ states that the Eskimo of that time employed spearthrowers and records the discovery of one complete and one fragmentary specimen. The former is, however, "merely a flat wooden board, 38 cm. long, . . . of a rather primitive type; . . . in the rear end is the one edge slightly incurved for the hand: in the fore-end a large hole for the peg and a smaller one." Found in a site on Repulse Bay near the upper end of Hudson Bay, it resembles to some extent the spearthrowers of this region today, indicating that specialization had commenced even in those early times. It apparently lacks, however, the hole for the index finger which is now characteristic of every type from Greenland and Labrador to Bering Strait.

The old Point Barrow specimen, on the other hand, conforms to the general type of northern Alaskan spearthrowers, having a hole for the index finger on the medial line and grooves for the other three fingers on the edge. The spearthrower which most resembles it is one in the National Museum at Washington which was secured in "Russian America" in 1867 by Commodore John Rodgers and which, since its exact provenience is unknown, is therefore termed the "Rodgers type" by Otis T. Mason in his report on the throwing-sticks in the National Museum.² Because of its points in common with present northern Alaskan spearthrowers, Mason put it in that classification, comparing it most closely to the spearthrowers from Kotzebue Sound, the great bay between Point Barrow and Bering Strait. Of this specimen Mason says, "The whole execution of this specimen is so much superior to that of any other in the Museum and the material so different as to create the suspicion that it was made by a white man, with steel tools." It is shown upon page 293. The specimen in the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM is of a type superior even to this and of excellent execution, though the wood is beginning to show the appearance and wear of age.

We may therefore consider our specimen as the finest of the three known complete examples of the spearthrowers of the ancient

¹Therkel Mathiasen, *Archæology of the Central Eskimo. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-1924. The Danish Expedition to Arctic North America in charge of Knud Rasmussen, Ph.D., Vol. IV.* Copenhagen, 1927.

²Otis T. Mason, *Throwing-sticks in the National Museum. Report of the United States National Museum for 1884, pp. 279-290.* Washington, 1885.

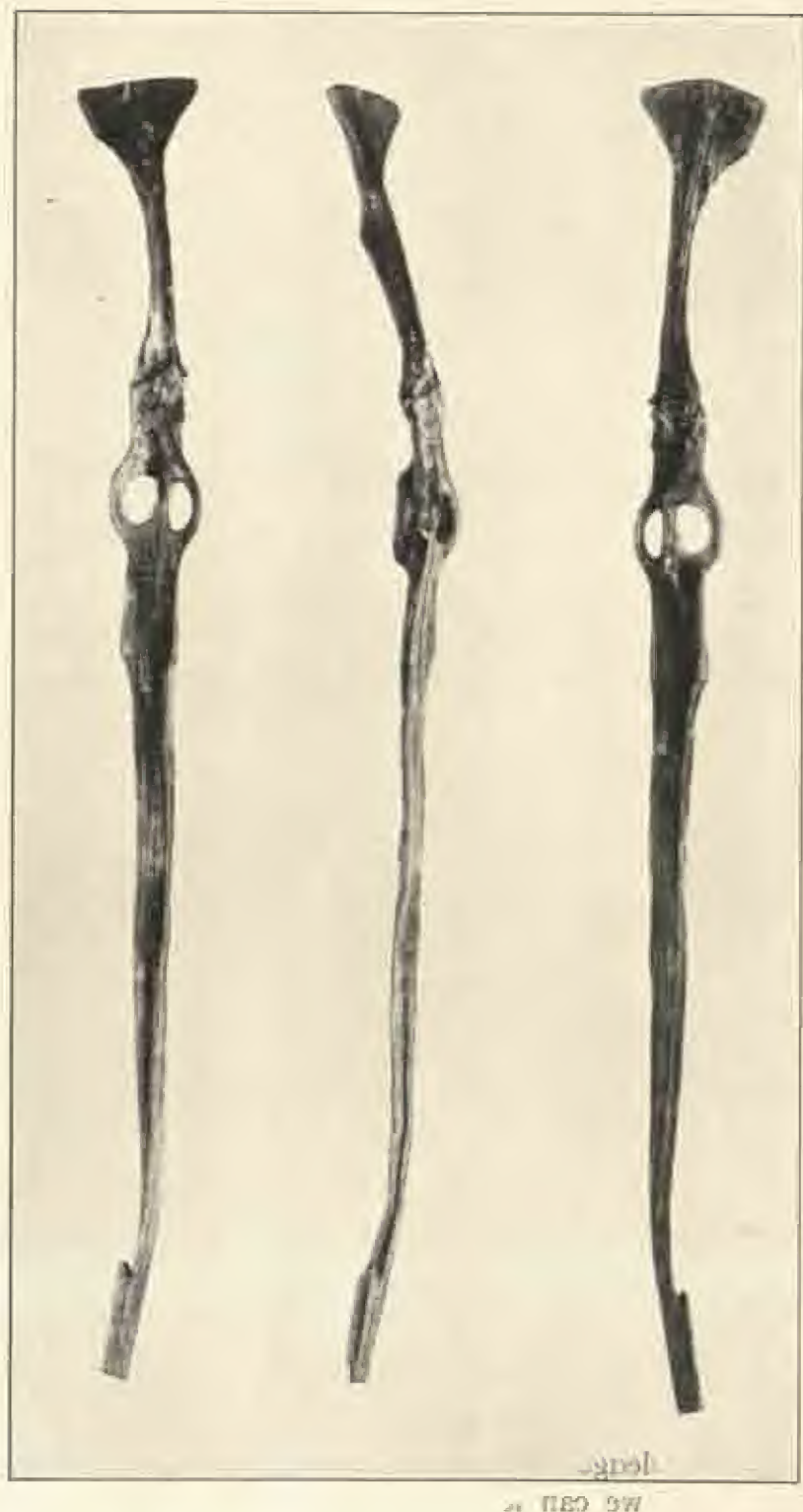


Basket Maker spearthrowers. Of the upper specimen only the handle remains; the finger-loops are missing from the lower.

Eskimo who belonged to the Thule Culture, and as the type specimen of its kind.

The spearthrower is made of a coniferous wood and probably from a log which drifted down the Mackenzie River from the great forests of northern Canada. It measures $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in maximum width. The Mathiassen specimen measures 15 inches (38 cm.) in length and the "Rodgers type" specimen 19 inches. The form is not only graceful and artistic but eminently utilitarian and of technical excellence. Its peculiar characteristic, seen on no other Eskimo or Thule specimen, is near the central point where it widens and rises to an angle with lateral and vertical facets. Here the interior is hollowed out in such a way as to leave three rather thin shafts, a main, straight shaft on the upper side, braced by two curving buttress shafts on the lower side. In spearthrowers, the side on which the spear rests and which is held uppermost when in the act of casting it is termed the upper side; it would ordinarily be considered the lower side by the casual observer. The main shaft is of triangular cross-section, the broader side, grooved for the spear, being about an inch in width. The supporting buttresses are of trapezoidal cross-section. This removal of the wood not only adds to the beauty of the specimen, but reduces the weight of the implement without sacrificing strength at the point of greatest strain. This is the principal point in which it differs from the Rodgers spearthrower which is of practically even width throughout. The latter has, however, what is either a prototype or a debased form of this feature in a small carving on the lower side which Mason interprets as "the legs and feet of some animal carved out in a graceful manner." The photograph seems to show the hind flippers of a seal.

In the anterior part the implement is symmetrical, the straight main shaft and the two curving bracing shafts coalescing into a shaft of an inch and a quarter in width and three-eighths of an inch in thickness. The point is curved slightly downwards. The groove for the spear is about an eighth of an inch in depth and widens from half an inch at the anterior end to three-quarters at the posterior. The groove ends at the anterior or distal terminus with an ivory peg having a blunt short conical point which fitted into the butt of the spear. This peg is very firmly set into the wood; although apparently only a small peg and lightly fastened, it possesses a tenon which runs through the wood to the lower side where



Speartrower with twin finger-holes from the ancient Key Dwellers of the Florida coast. The centuries during which it remained buried in mud have caused it to warp.

it is cut off flush with the surface. The direction of this tenon opposes the line of stress so that it can resist great strain.

The posterior part of the spearthrower is somewhat, though not markedly, asymmetrical, being ingeniously and perfectly adapted to fit the hand, the right hand in this case. In the medial line on the lower side a deep depression is made for the index finger. This depression extends backwards to hold the flexed finger in the strongest position, and perforates the opposite side, in the centre of the spear-groove, in a small hole. It is doubtful if this orifice was intentional since it serves no purpose and might interfere with the easy rest of the spear in the groove. More likely the finger orifice was hollowed out too far, or possibly the orifice was worn through by the fingernail after long use. The same feature, however, was noted on the Rodgers spearthrower.

The rest of the handle is made to fit the thumb and the other three fingers. The part which is gripped is small and slightly eccentric, but the spear-groove on the upper side is continued to the very end, thus differing markedly from the Rodgers specimen in which the shallow groove does not extend even to the hole for the index finger. The two lateral edges are notched at different distances to fit the thumb on one side and the middle finger on the other. On the upper side three deep notches of a size and shape to fit perfectly the three fingers are carved into the wood. These notches are sunk into the groove for the spear, so that it is evident that the fingers could have had no part in holding the spear which apparently lay against or over the finger tips. It was evidently held in place by means of the thumb alone.

SOME SPEARTHROWERS OF THE BASKET MAKERS OF UTAH

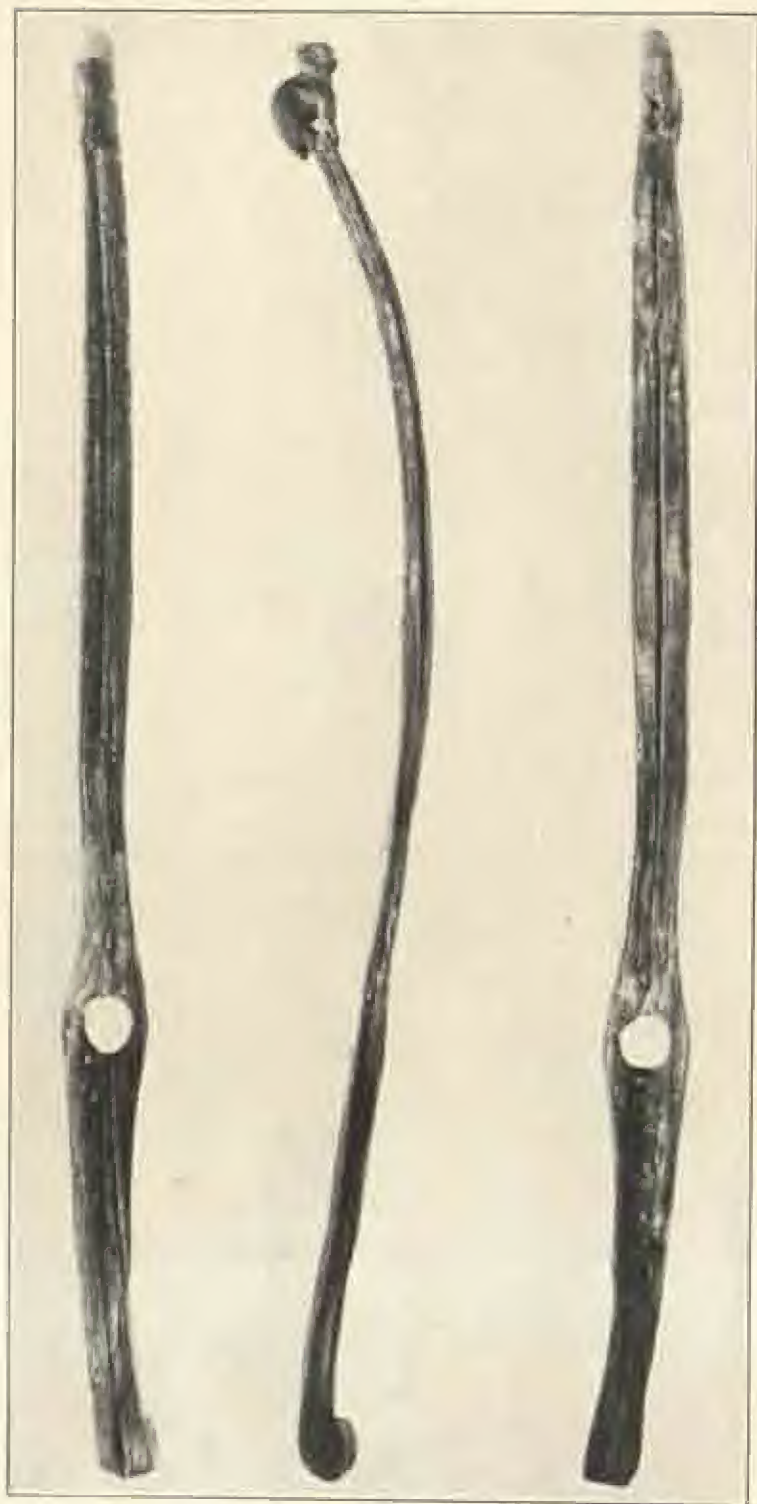
In the arid regions of the American Southwest much intensive work has been done in archaeology, so that today we have a clearer knowledge of the sequence of cultures and of the movements of peoples here than anywhere else in America. Many periods are distinguished, based mainly on types of pottery, extending from the modern and recent Pueblo Indians, through the Cliff Dwellers back to most ancient times. At the beginning of the series stand the so-called Basket Makers of southern Utah and northern Arizona, the earliest sedentary agricultural people of the Southwest of which we have any knowledge. Even this knowledge is very slight and is limited to what we can learn from the objects which they left

in their burial caves, for they apparently built no houses which have lasted. They practised agriculture but also did more hunting than their successors, since they were probably the first people in that region to change from a hunting to an agricultural plane of life. Their distinguishing characteristics, however, were their ignorance, or practical ignorance, of pottery, and the manufacture and use of excellent baskets instead, much resembling those of California at present. It is from this characteristic that their name is derived.

One of the characteristic implements of the Basket Makers was the wooden spearthrower which they apparently employed to the exclusion of the bow and arrow. The first spearthrower brought from this region attracted the greatest interest, since it was the first discovery of a spearthrower east of the Pacific, north of Mexico, and south of the Arctic. Several of these spearthrowers were brought out by professional nonscientific excavators before the culture of the Basket Makers was recognized as a separate entity, and thus they became one of the diagnostic characteristics of the culture.

In 1893 one of the great American anthropologists of the last generation, the late Otis T. Mason of the National Museum, was inspecting the archaeological exhibit of the State of Colorado at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. His enthusiasm was awakened by the sight of several implements which his professional eye identified as spearthrowers. They were the first of these implements known from the interior of North America and the enthusiastic scientist at once wrote a note to *Science*¹ calling the attention of the archaeological world to his discovery. Probably thousands of persons before him had gazed over the collection, but none had realized the importance of the peculiar implements, which were described in the catalogue as "magic wands." Such terms as "magic wand" and "ceremonial object" are havens of security for the amateur archaeologist—and often for the professional as well—who can consign any puzzling what-is-it to these capacious omnium gatherums. The collection was probably made by the four famous Wetherill brothers and C. C. Mason (the third of this ubiquitous name to be concerned in this article), and presumably in Mancos

¹ September 13, 1893. Five years later he wrote another letter to the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, XI, 1898, p. 129. In the latter are published drawings of the two Basket Maker implements and of one of the Florida specimens, all three now in the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM.



Florida spearthrower with single finger-hole. This and the one shown on page 301 are the only spearthrowers known from the United States east of Arkansas.

Canyon, Colorado. The late George H. Pepper, however, in his article on *The Throwing-stick of a Prehistoric People of the Southwest*,¹ avows his certainty that it must have come from the region of Grand Gulch, Utah. After the World's Columbian Exposition these collections, which were or became a part of the Hazzard Collection, were secured by this MUSEUM.

"In the Hazzard Collection in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania there is perhaps the best series of throwing-stick material available," wrote Pepper; and again, "The most noted throwing-stick from the Southwest is in the Hazzard Collection; it is the first one known from that region."

This famous spearthrower is of further interest in connection with an incident which demonstrates the remarkable knowledge of another of the leaders of anthropological science of a generation ago. The late Frank Hamilton Cushing of the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington, because of his unexcelled knowledge of the Pueblo Indians, the modern descendants, from a cultural point of view at least, of the Basket Makers, was apparently asked by the then curator of the MUSEUM, Stewart Culin, to prepare the labels for the Hazzard Collection when it was placed on exhibition. His label reads, "Throwing stick of flexible walnut (?) sapling, showing wild cat tooth fastening of finger-loops with 'feather cleaver' or 'lightening stone' (knife or arrow of chalcedony), war fetich stone 'blood-clot' of limonite and wrapping of dyed cotton yarn, originally decorated with bright feather work."

The elements to which Cushing refers are easily seen in the illustration on page 297, but whether his interpretation of them is correct can never be known with certainty. That it probably is is indicated by this most interesting incident which shows not only Cushing's remarkable knowledge of Southwestern ceremonialism—he was adopted into the Macaw clan of the Zuni tribe and lived five consecutive years among them, becoming second chief of the tribe and Head Priest of the Bow—but also the extreme age and conservatism of ceremonial concepts in that region.

Cushing expressed to Culin his opinion "that a piece of turquoise, explained by him as the heart of a fetishish (*sic*) bird, was concealed beneath the heavy wrapping of brown yarn that binds

¹ George H. Pepper, *The Throwing-stick of a Prehistoric People of the Southwest*. *Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists*, 13th Session, New York, 1902, pp. 107-130, New York, 1903.

the finger loops of the prehistoric throwingstick from Mañas¹ Cañon, Colorado, in the University Museum." This is recounted by Culin in a short article entitled "An Archæological Application of the Röntgen Rays,"² in an early publication of this Museum. X-rays had at that time just become perfected for medical purposes and Culin conceived the idea of confirming Cushing's hypothesis by this means. Radiographs³ revealed four beads, presumably of turquoise, under the wrapping. "I may add," says Culin, "that the extreme fragility of the wrapping is such as to render an examination by other means impossible without serious injury to this valuable object." The present writer quite agrees with Culin on this point.

This spearthrower measures twenty-five inches in length and is apparently made of a split sapling which varies from three-quarters to one inch in width, the greater width being at the anterior or distal end. It is curved laterally to a slight degree, but this is probably unintentional and due to warping, although in some regions, such as Australia, spearthrowers with a pronounced intentional lateral curvature are found. The lower side retains the natural semi-circularity of the twig, the upper half being relatively flat with a very shallow groove in the medial line for the spear. The notch in which the end of the spear rested consists of a rectangular excavation about an inch long, three-eighths of an inch wide and one-eighth deep, the farther side of which is extended out in a spur. The spearthrower was apparently originally wrapped with a strip of hide wound around it in a spiral, traces of which still remain.

The handle or proximal end is of greatest interest on account of the ceremonial objects placed there. Nearest the end are twin finger-loops made of rawhide, now much shrunken and distorted from their original shape. These were, when the implement was in use, occupied by the index and middle fingers which were thrust in from the lower side, while the thumb and the other two fingers grasped the centre of the spear as it lay along the groove of the spearthrower. Caught under the rawhide wrapping of the loop is a tooth of a canine or feline animal. The main part of the wrapping,

¹ G. H. Pepper writes, "I would correct what is probably a typographical error and state that the Mañas Cañon should be Mancos Cañon, which is situated in the southwestern part of Colorado." He then states his belief that the specimen was actually found in the Grand Gulch region of Utah, and that no Basket Maker material has been found in the Cliff Dweller region of Colorado.

² *Bulletin 4, Free Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania*, June, 1898, p. 183.

³ Reproduced on pages 180 and 182 of the above.

which probably had no utilitarian but only an æsthetic and ceremonial importance, is found immediately beyond the finger-loops and is three inches in length and from an inch to an inch and a half in thickness. The under part apparently consists of a wrapping of brown yucca fiber, the upper part of cotton yarn, now of a uniform brown tint, but possibly once of brighter colours. All traces of the



The tiny figure of a rabbit, excellently carved, surmounts the end of the single-holed *Florida* spear-thrower, its tail forming the propelling-spur.

"bright feather work" reported by Cushing, if they ever existed, have now disappeared, but the proximal part, near the finger-loops, is covered by traces of a yellowish brown fur. Completely hidden by the wrapping on the lower side of the implement are the four beads discovered by X-rays which, according to Cushing, are probably of turquoise and represent the heart of a fetish bird. Projecting beyond the end of the wrapping is the bit of black shiny limonite concretion interpreted by Cushing as a "war fetich stone 'blood

clot," and in a similar position on the opposite or upper side is the end of a beautiful thin blade of chipped and polished chalcedony. This is, or was, as Cushing states, either a knife-blade or an arrow-head, but his interpretation of it as a "feather cleaver" or "lightening stone" must be taken on his *ipse dixit*.

In the Hazzard Collection there is also the handle of another spearthrower, better preserved than that of the complete specimen, but containing no ceremonial objects. It is shown on page 299, Cushing's old label for this reads, "Handle of throwing-stick of live oak sapling, bared of wrapping, but with perfect finger-loops, and with rattlesnake skin fetich." The shaft of this is narrower and



Toltec warriors carrying spearthrowers in their right hands and bundles of spears in their left, as shown on the great bas relief frieze in the Temple of the Tigers at Chichen-Itza, Yucatan.

straighter than that of the preceding specimen, the width being about eleven-sixteenths of an inch. At the proximal point and on either side of the finger-loops are wrappings of sinew. The finger-loops are made of some rigid material covered with tanned buckskin, and are intended for small fingers. The small hands and feet of even tall American Indians are matters of record, and the sedentary agricultural natives of the Pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico are among the shortest members of their race.

Around the shaft between the loops are several turns of narrow, thin, hard hide which may be rattlesnake skin, but I am inclined to believe that the feature thus referred to by Cushing is the short strip which extends between the loops parallel to the main shaft and on the lower side of it. This, although superficially resembling

snakeskin, is composed of braided leather thongs. With all his deep insight and thorough knowledge, Cushing apparently made a hasty and incorrect identification in this case.

"The largest and heaviest dart-thrower from the Southwest that has been noted"¹ is also in this MUSEUM. This, No. 22736, was purchased at St. Michaels, Arizona, in 1902, and is said to have been found at Lukachukai, Arizona. This small place is probably in the Basket Maker region, to which culture the spearthrower doubtless belongs. It is, however, rather different from those mentioned above, and is of superior workmanship and technique, as may be seen from the illustration on page 299. In length it measures twenty-three and three-quarters inches, in thickness from a quarter to three-eighths of an inch and in width from seven-eighths to one and one-quarter inches, the size increasing steadily from proximal to distal end. It is therefore of relatively flat cross-section, the upper and lower faces very slightly, the edges markedly, convex. It is perfectly straight and smooth, being carved from a large piece of reddish wood such as oak or hickory, not split from a sapling as in the other cases. A slight sigmoid curve, doubtless intentional, in the plane of the weapon gives it a most efficient shape.

Close to the proximal end each edge is indented in a broad notch three-sixteenths of an inch deep, thus reducing the width at this point from fifteen-sixteenths to nine-sixteenths of an inch. This was obviously done to provide a finger-hold; although the appearance of the specimen is somewhat improved thereby, it produces a point of weakness. Not a trace of finger-loops or binding at this point can be seen and one might conjecture that the notches alone were used for the finger-grip were it not that the black surface layer, resulting from the grip of the sweaty, oily, dirty palms of the hunter as he followed the antelope over the hot, dusty Arizona plateau, stops at a sharp line and the region of the notches is clear and clean. This indicates that they were originally covered with wrapping or binding, and we may confidently conclude that this wrapping bound on finger-loops of a type similar to those of the other spearthrowers from the same region.

The lower side of the implement is perfectly plain and presents no details of interest except at the distal point where, in the medial line, two holes have been drilled to meet in the interior of the wood

¹ G. H. Pepper, *loc. cit.*, p. 112. Discoveries of the past twenty-six years may have invalidated this statement.

in an elbow angle. Possibly this was intended for the insertion of a cord for hanging up the weapon when not in use, or possibly for the attachment of an ornament, such as a feather.

The upper side is slightly ornamented. Along each edge from the finger notches to the distal point runs a straight incised line, certainly purely ornamental in purpose. At the distal point the thickness is greatly increased in the medial line to produce the spur on whose point the spear rests. This spur is an inch and three-quarters long and five-sixteenths of an inch broad, and consists merely of a raised ridge, one end of which extends to the distal end of the implement where it increases the thickness to five-eighths of an inch; the anterior end is slightly undercut to form a projecting point. From under this point a shallow groove extends along the medial line of the weapon to accommodate the resting spear. It measures three-eighths of an inch in width and five inches in length. From its anterior terminus spring two short divergent incised lines, which are probably purely decorative in purpose.

TWO SPEARTHROWERS FROM THE COAST OF FLORIDA

Quite unique, and certainly the rarest spearthrowers known from America, are several now in the UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM which were taken in 1896 from the mud and muck of Key Marco on the Gulf Coast of Florida. The expedition which secured them, a joint project of this MUSEUM and the Bureau of American Ethnology of Washington, under the leadership of the late Frank Hamilton Cushing, who was mentioned in connection with the Basket Maker spearthrowers, made some extremely important contributions to our knowledge of American archæology. The results of the expedition have been widely quoted in archæological literature. The culture found there differed in many respects from that characteristic of the peoples of the Florida mainland, and in some respects resembled that of the inhabitants of the Antilles and even of South America. Especially unusual and interesting were the wooden objects which, strange as it may seem, can be preserved indefinitely only under two exactly opposite natural conditions, that of complete and constant aridity, and that of similar saturation. Those preserved under the latter conditions, however, generally warp and twist sadly, or even disintegrate completely on exposure to air. Such has been the fate of many of the strange and remarkable wooden specimens brought from the Florida mud. Fortunately, the expedition enjoyed

the services of an artist and photographer who made careful copies of the unique objects, many of them shining with bright colours, as they were carefully drawn from the mud where they had reposed for centuries. Unfortunately, however, the full report of this work has never been published, for Cushing died in 1900 while engaged in working upon it, and archaeologists have had to content themselves with a preliminary report, although a fairly full one, made by him in 1896.¹

Among these rare wooden objects are several spearthrowers of remarkable and unusual types. Unique of their kind, they are the only ones known north of Mexico, south of Labrador, and east of Arkansas. "It was significant," says Cushing, "that no bows were discovered in any portion of the court, but of atlatls or throwing sticks, both fragmentary and entire, four or five examples were found. Two of the most perfect of these were also the most characteristic, since one was double-holed, the other single-holed." The absence of bows is not surprising, since we have seen that they were not employed by the Basket Makers either. It must not be assumed, however, that the Florida Key Dwellers were contemporaries of the Basket Makers; they may have been, but more likely were more recent. It seems that, although the spearthrower is older, and normally a less efficient weapon than the bow, the former is or was the preferred weapon and employed to the exclusion of the bow even among some recent peoples of relatively high culture surrounded by other groups who preferred the bow. Numbers of arrows were found by Cushing and his helpers, however, but the line of distinction between a spear and an arrow is a vague one; these arrows may have been light darts thrown by the spearthrower or actual arrows propelled by bows, the non-discovery of the latter being accidental.

The two complete spearthrowers, drawings of which, taken from Cushing's original report, are reproduced on the next page, are very different from any which we have hitherto considered. They are extremely slender and graceful and the wood must have been of unusual strength and resilience, if indeed the specimens were not purely ceremonial and not intended for actual use. Lateral finger-loops such as are characteristic of the Basket Maker and the Aztec

¹ Frank Hamilton Cushing, *A Preliminary Report on the Ancient Key-Dweller Remains on the Gulf Coast of Florida. The Pepper-Hearst Expedition. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. XXXV, No. 153. Communicated November 6, 1896.

spearthrowers are not used and the specimens are longer and much more slender than, and of a different shape from, the Eskimo, Californian and Tarascan implements which have the fingerholes perforated in the wood. No types resembling at all closely the Florida specimens are known, but the closest approximation to them seems to be found among the spearthrowers of certain tribes of eastern Colombia, who use long slender implements of artistic appearance of hard red wood.

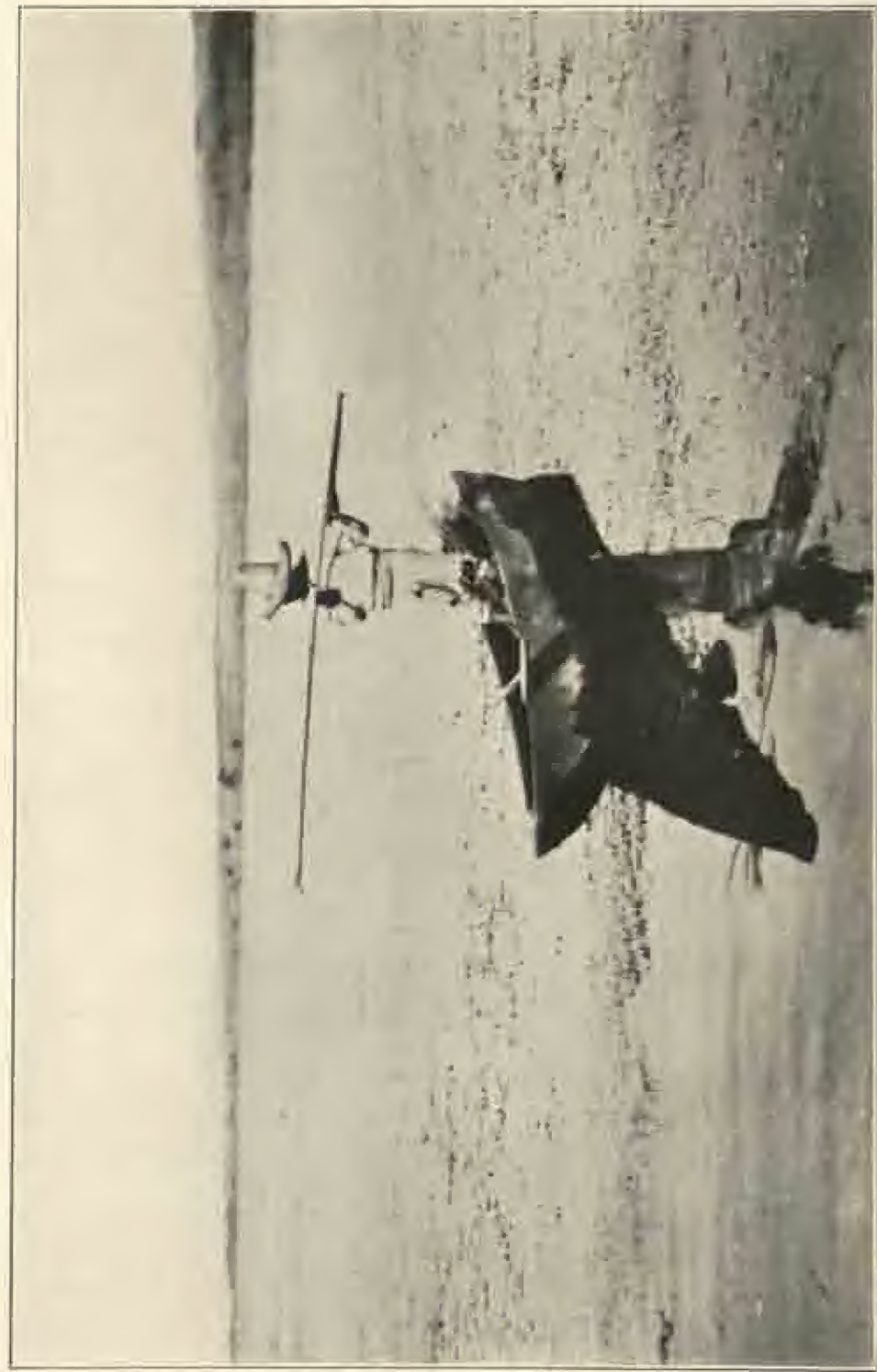
The double-holed spearthrower, according to Cushing's description, is made of a dark, red-brown, flexible wood and measures sixteen¹ inches in length. His description of it follows. "The first was some eighteen inches in length, delicate, slender, slightly curved and originally, quite springy. It was fitted with a short spur at the smaller end and was unequally spread or flanged at the larger or grasping end. The shaft-groove terminated in an ornamental device, whence a slighter crease led quite to the end of the handle, and the whole implement was delicately carved and engraved with edge-lines and when first taken from the muck exhibited a high polish and beautiful rosewood color."

The second was even finer. Cushing describes it as "somewhat longer, slightly thicker, wider shafted, more curved, and, as I have said before, furnished with only a single fingerhole. At the smaller end was a diminutive but very perfect carving of a rabbit, in the act of thumping, so placed that his erect tail formed the propelling-spur. This instrument was also fitted with a short shaft-groove and was carved and decorated with edge and side lines, and the handle end was beautifully curved down and rounded so as to form a volute or rolled knob. . . . Its length was nineteen inches, and it was made from fine, springy hard wood—like rosewood in appearance—probably the heart portion of the so-called ironwood of the region."



Spearthrowers from Key Marco, Florida, as they were drawn immediately after extraction from the mud and as published in the original report.

¹ In the text description on page 43, Cushing gives the length as eighteen inches; in the description of plate XXXII on page 95, it is given as sixteen inches.



Tarascan Indian using modern spearthrower for hunting fowl on Lake Patzcuaro, Michoacan, Mexico.

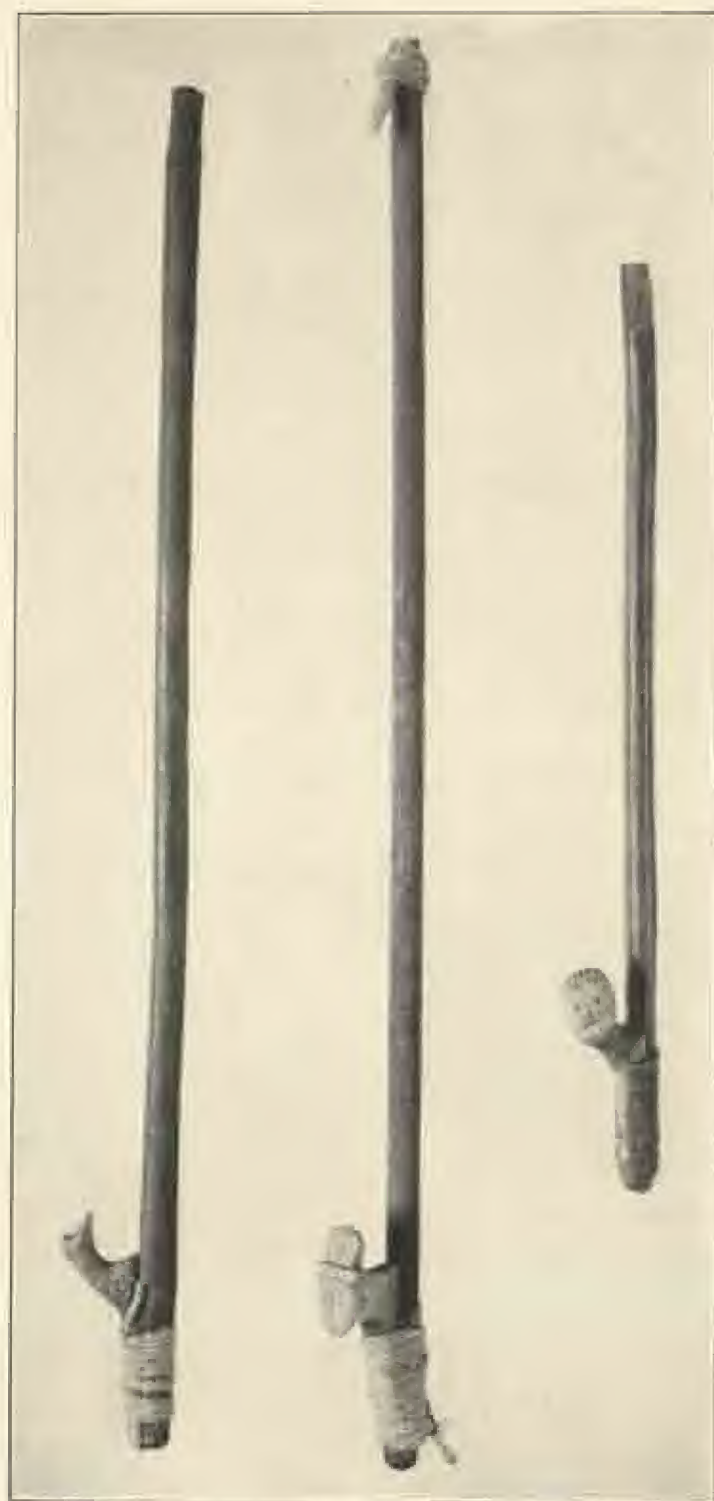
From *Indians of Southern Mexico*, by Dr. Frederick Starr.

The carved rabbit at the distal end with its tail forming the spur is strongly reminiscent of the prehistoric spearthrowers of France which were almost uniformly carved in animal forms; here also in a number of the best examples, the tail formed the spur. There can hardly be any historical connection between the two regions, and the tail spur is probably purely coincidental, but the frequent use of carved animals on the implements may readily be explained upon grounds of sympathetic magic—the carved animal upon the weapon would exert a magical influence over its living kin in the hunt.

The condition of the two spearthrowers today may be seen on pages 301 and 304. The longer and finer specimen has not deteriorated greatly, although the curvature has been much accentuated, the single fingerhole has shrunk slightly, and the length has shrunk from nineteen to seventeen and three-quarters inches. The smaller and lighter double-holed spearthrower has suffered much more seriously. It now measures fifteen instead of the sixteen or eighteen inches originally recorded, and is much warped and twisted, the wood being extremely light and flexible. The twin fingerholes have shrunk so that they would no more than accommodate one finger were the septum between them removed, the diameter of the double opening being now only three-quarters of an inch. The spur at the distal end has warped to one side so that it now lies on the plane of the broader handle.

The wood of both is hard, firm, unusually flexible and at present of a dark brown colour, approaching black. Both are decorated on all four faces with a shallow, thin, straight medial groove extending the length of the implement, and with parallel marginal grooves close to the edges of the broader sides. Between the fingerholes of the smaller specimen there is a high ridge and the spur is formed by increasing the width at the distal point for a distance of an inch and a half, and undercutting to produce a knob of sugarloaf shape.

The single-holed spearthrower is of superior workmanship and decoration. The broad groove for the reception of the spear on the upper side ends some three inches short of the fingerhole where it is replaced by a slight ridge, the transition being marked by a transverse groove of chevron shape. On both sides the medial groove bifurcates on approaching the fingerhole. The two ends of this specimen are the points of greatest interest. The handle terminus ends in a graceful volute knob like that of a violin, which probably prevented the



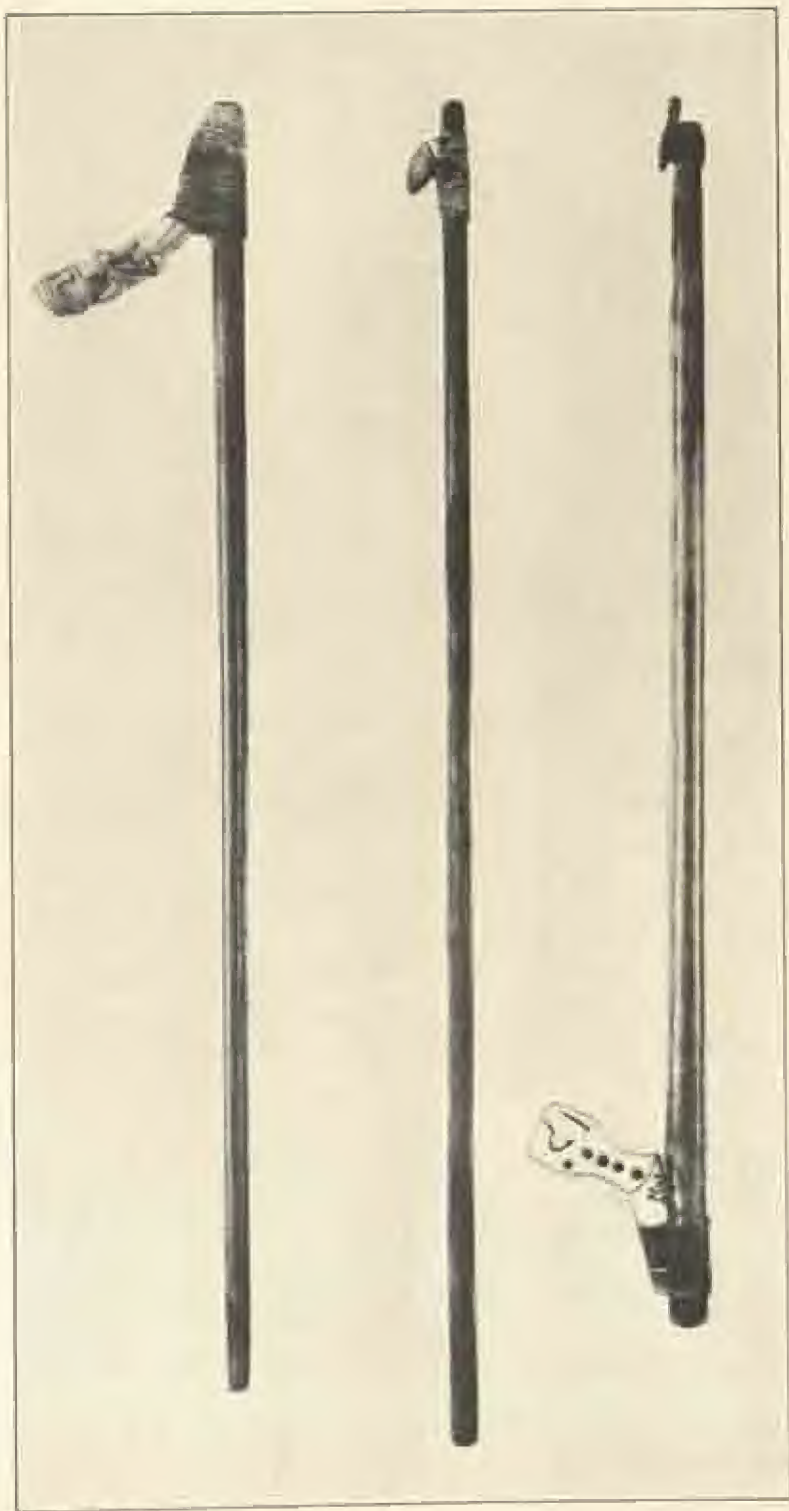
Spearguns from pre-Columbian graves near Pisco on the coast of Peru.

grasp from slipping down too far. At the distal point the daintily carved animal, shown on page 307, is an admirable bit of woodcarving. While perfectly symmetrical, it is also perfectly naturalistic. It is most probably, as Cushing identifies it, "a rabbit in the act of thumping," but the present damage to the ears and nose has destroyed some of the characteristic features. The cramped posture of the animal, clinging to the narrow end of the implement, is admirable and indicates an excellent knowledge of animal anatomy. The spaces between the forelegs and between the fore and hindlegs are hollowed out and the legs themselves are perfectly shaped, the forelegs resting on the lower side of the spearthrower, the hindlegs grasping the edges. Even the toes are carefully portrayed, the grooves separating them being about half a millimeter apart. The entire dainty figure is only an inch and a half high, an inch long and half an inch wide. The incised details of the face are slightly conventionalized but decidedly rabbitlike. The stumpy tail forms the spur for the end of the spear, the longitudinal groove at this point being deepened and widened.

The discovery of these two spearthrowers on the Florida Coast was a scientific item of considerable importance, bearing on the moot question of pre-Columbian influences between Florida and the West Indies. The culture of the Antilles was South American at bottom and both of the races which inhabited the islands, the Insular Arawak or Tainan, who were the earlier population, and the invading Carib, were members of groups widely spread in South America. The latter, at the time of Columbus, were engaged in conquering the islands, having possessed themselves of the Lesser Antilles, from which point they were attacking the Arawak in the larger western islands.

Columbus and other contemporary discoverers report that while the Carib in the east used bows and arrows, the Arawak of Cuba and Haiti knew only the spearthrower. This is another evidence of the priority of the spearthrower in human history. Moreover, the short distance between Cuba and the Bahamas and the coast of Florida suggests that our Florida spearthrowers are probably more closely related to the prehistoric forms of the Antilles, and through them to those of South America, than to those of the Eskimo, the Basket Makers, or the Aztecs.

The spearthrowers, it may be remarked, present only one of several phases in which the culture of Cushing's Florida finds shows



In Peruvian spearthrowers both the hand-grip and the spur are bound to a straight shaft. The upper specimen lacks its spur, the central specimen its hand-grip.

resemblances with Antillean-South American cultures, and these discoveries form one of the most potent arguments in favour of such Antillean influences in the southeastern American states. The consensus of scientific opinion upon this question is that the influence of the Antilles upon our southeastern states was evident in places, but not great.

ANCIENT SPEARTHROWERS FROM THE COAST OF PERU

The MUSEUM unfortunately possesses no example of the beautiful spearthrowers or atlatis of the ancient Aztecs, elaborately carved, gilded and sometimes inlaid with mosaics. These extraordinary objects are exceedingly rare and were probably either exclusively ceremonial in purpose or owned by the highest dignitaries. It is owing to their magnificence alone that they have been preserved, for we know not one example of the ordinary type of spearthrower carried by the common warrior, of the propulsive power of which the *conquistadores* spoke with so much respect. The predecessors of the Aztecs, the Toltecs, also used a spearthrower, which is depicted upon the reliefs at Chichen Itza, Yucatan, where Toltec warriors are shown carrying spears and spearthrowers, as may be seen in the illustration on page 308. The latter are portrayed as much shorter than the known Aztec weapons and, apparently, as decorated with plumes.

On Lake Patzcuaro in the state of Michoacan, Mexico, the Tarascan Indians of certain villages along the shore still employ the spearthrower in hunting wild fowl. There are some of these implements in the collections of the MUSEUM, but they are of slight interest, being made of one piece of wood, plain and undecorated, with double fingerholes. The illustration on page 313, made by Frederick Starr, late Professor of Anthropology at the University of Chicago,¹ shows how it was employed.

It is quite likely that at one time the spearthrower was used throughout the region of intensive agriculture from Arizona to Chile. But most of this region is very humid and wooden objects perish quickly. In some places hook-shaped stones which are presumed to have been the knob spurs of spearthrowers have been found. This

¹ The illustration is taken from plate XXI of Dr. Starr's *Indians of Southern Mexico*, Chicago, 1899. Descriptions of the Tarascans and their spearthrower may be found in Dr. Starr's *Indian Mexico*, Chicago, 1908, and *Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, in *Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences*, Vols. VIII and IX, Davenport, Iowa, 1900 and 1902.

is especially true of Ecuador and Colombia where so many of these small stones of such characteristic shapes have been found that it is generally agreed that they represent these spurs. The spearthrower is used today by some of the Indian tribes in Brazil, especially by those on the Araguaya and Xingu rivers.

The most perfectly preserved examples of spearthrowers must naturally be sought in the region of greatest aridity. In America this is the Pacific coast of Peru and Chile. Rains in this region are exceedingly rare, the country in general consisting of the barest desert broken now and then by the fertile valleys of rivers descending from the snow-capped summits of the Andes. In Trujillo, for instance, which is near the northern limit of the arid area and is by no means the driest spot, the average yearly rainfall from 1918 to 1924 was 4 millimetres, about an eighth of an inch. However, in 1925, owing to a strange deflection of the cold Humboldt Current along the coast, torrential rains, an unheard-of thing, occurred; 290 millimetres of rain, practically twelve inches, fell in three days in March, with a total for the season of 300 to 400 millimetres. The unprecedented torrents naturally caused great suffering and tremendous damage not only to the works of modern man but to the remains of his predecessors, some of which were damaged more in those three days than in the preceding millennium.

This region, indeed, is in many respects the American counterpart of Egypt. Not only was the culture very high and the artefacts of the greatest interest and beauty, but the custom of the inhabitants, who occupied the fertile river valleys, of burying the possessions of the deceased with them in the arid deserts has preserved for us many unique objects which afford us a clear impression of the material aspects of their culture.

The objects found in these coastal cemeteries do not, for the greater part, represent the culture of the Incas who were at the height of their ascendancy at the time of the Spanish Conquest and which is therefore the only Peruvian civilization known to the layman. Their culture, however, like that of the Aztecs in Mexico, was relatively new and had been preceded by other civilizations of equal grade but less known. In Peru the oldest cultures were apparently those of the coast, which probably dated from about the beginning of the Christian era. Their artefacts, excavated from the desert sands, fill our museums, but of their history we know little or nothing.



The hand-grip of one of the Peruvian spearthrowers made of bone and carved in the form of a seated figure playing pan-pipes.

The culture of Nazca in southern Peru near Pisco was one of the earliest and highest of the Peruvian civilizations, the beautiful pottery and textiles being renowned. Most of the Peruvian spearthrowers known come from the Nazca-Pisco region.

The UNIVERSITY MUSEUM possesses ten spearthrowers, whole or fragmentary, from the Nazca district. These were secured by Dr. W. C. Farabee, late Curator of the American Section, on his expedition to Peru in 1922 and 1923. Unfortunately, owing to his severe illness which later proved fatal, the data on his collections are not full, and it is uncertain whether he excavated these specimens himself or purchased them, nor do we know exactly where they were found, nor what their associations were with other objects in the same grave. Some of them, at least, seem to be from Manrique, a small place in Pisco Valley, and it is quite probable that all of them were found in the same grave. The interment of large numbers of such objects in one grave seems to have been customary; in one recorded instance eighteen spearthrowers were found with one interment.¹

These spearthrowers are all of one definite type, although differing greatly in details, but this type bears practically no resemblance to those which we have already discussed. All of the types considered before, with the exception of a few specialized forms in Alaska, have been equipped with fingerholes, either attached to the weapon or forming a part of it. The propelling spur is generally also a part of the implement or inseparably attached to it.

The Peruvian spearthrower, as may be seen on pages 315 and 317, consists of a straight, rather short stick of circular cross-section, to which a handle is attached at one end and a peg at the other. Although the main shaft is generally grooved at the distal point for the reception of the peg, yet tight wrapping with cotton cord is the main reliance for the attachment both of the peg and the handle. This method would appear much less efficient than the others, but apparently it stood the strain well.

The shafts measure from 46 to 56 cm., or 18 to 22 inches, in length, and are made of hard reddish or black woods, probably species of palm. One of them is decorated with fine incised lines which cross spirally at right angles to each other. Only three of them still retain the pegs for the spear, but these illustrate very

¹ Max Uhle, *Peruvian Throwing-sticks*. *American Anthropologist*, new series, XI, 1909, pp. 624-677.

different types. One of these, S. A. 3746, figured on page 317, is the most divergent in many respects and may represent a slightly variant phase of culture, since it is the longest, the only one made of black wood, and the only one with a copper peg. This peg is very tightly attached by means of cordage wound in a close spiral which was originally covered with pitch or tar. It possesses no handle knob, unfortunately.



Hand-grip of a speartrower carved in the form of an owl, from the coast of Peru.

The spur of another is made of hard wood, tightly bound on with cord and covered with a hard cement, while that of a third is a long peg of bone, very carelessly bound with cord; possibly the binding is modern.

The attached handle-grips and one handle which is not attached are identical in type but differ greatly in style and method of decoration. All are of bone and consist of a carved figure or hook which extends forward from the shaft at an angle of approximately forty-five degrees, and a shaft of from an inch and three-quarters to two

inches and three-quarters in length. It is by this shaft that the handle is bound tightly to the main wooden shaft of the implement, the lower side being made slightly concave for this purpose. The ends of the two shafts are normally flush. The planes of the handle and of the distal peg differ by a few degrees so that the spear, when in position, lies on the left side of the handle grip where it was evidently grasped by the fingers. In three of the specimens the binding may be modern; the other two are carefully bound with cord, fixed, in one case by the use of pitch or tar, in the other of sinew.

The grip of one of the implements, S. A. 4307, shown on page 315, is little more than a hook, though it might be interpreted as a conventionalized bird. In two other instances, S. A. 4306 and S. A. 3744, shown on the same page, a human face is carved on the upper knob. This carving is in both cases quite amateurish, but displays facial decoration, either painting or tattooing. The other three are excellent specimens of carving. The unattached handle-grip, S. A. 3796, which may be seen on page 322, represents an owl or some similar bird, with wings partly opened as if in the act of taking flight. The large round eyes, prominent beak and feathered shins are well portrayed, but the depiction of the wing feathers is somewhat conventional, a small incised circle being shown on the inner part of each.

The handle-grip of S. A. 4401, the finest of the specimens, is carved in the form of a seated musician, playing upon pan-pipes. The execution is strong but rather angular and unfinished. The same could probably be said of the execution of the musician, since his pipe consists of only four reeds. The headband, binding back the long hair, the great ear-ornaments, and all other details of the figure are typically Peruvian in style. This is illustrated on page 320.

The last specimen, S. A. 3743, shown on page 317, is unique in several respects and may belong to a slightly variant phase of the culture. The shaft is the thickest of any, measuring eleven-sixteenths of an inch, while the others are all under half an inch, and is of a reddish wood, highly polished. The long wooden peg is fastened with a kind of cement. The handle-grip is unusual in being extremely conventionalized, probably representing the head of some animal. The eyes are deeply incised with a drill and were probably originally inlaid with coloured stones such as are employed in the four depressions in a line on either side of the neck. Here are utilized bits of violet and dark green substances, most probably shell and malachite. The nose and mouth are portrayed by means of two long thin slots

which entirely traverse the bone. That for the mouth is straight, that for the nose meandering. Both were made by the technical process of first drilling a small hole, from which perforation the slot was continued by a sawing technique, probably by means of a cord or thong working in sand.

Thus spearthrowers are, as we have seen, used today by certain groups of American Indians isolated from each other and scattered from the Arctic to Brazil. Archaeological evidence and historical reports show that in earlier days their use was much more widespread. Since, doubtless, most types of spearthrowers were made entirely of wood and with the lapse of ages have disappeared without leaving a trace, the hypothesis is not ill founded that the few isolated cases of the use of the spearthrower as above described represent but the last survivals of the employment of an implement which was in the earliest days in universal use throughout aboriginal America.

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LADIES OF THE COURT AN EARLY CHINESE SCROLL PAINTING

BY HELEN E. FERNALD

THE MUSEUM has possessed for some years a Chinese scroll painting which professes to be by the hand of the famous Chou Wên Chû, an artist of the last half of the tenth century A.D. This painting is five and a half feet long—it was originally much longer—and is followed by an inscription of two hundred and twenty-three characters which throws considerable light upon the origin and history of the work. The silk upon which it is painted is golden brown with age and is rather coarse and fibrous. Upon it are painted in delicate flowing outlines the figures of ladies and children, ladies playing musical instruments, sitting on chairs or stools, playing with children, waited upon by little maids, or carrying utensils of some kind. Coiffures are washed in with gray, as are also the musical instruments and occasionally a sash, which results in a pleasing spotting of darks down the length of the painting. Lips and hair ribbons are lightly touched with what is now a faded pink. But otherwise all is in line, line precise and dainty, line thin and crisp, gracefully sweeping but never nervous. The figures are arranged in loose groups without crowding, indeed each one seems to have plenty of air and space around it. There is no background indicated—only those few accessories which are in close connection with the figures. It is a work of great charm and delicacy. The plump but dignified ladies in their "Empire" gowns seem quaint and old fashioned. The painting goes by the name of "Ladies of the Court".

The first group depicted upon the scroll—beginning at the right end—shows some court ladies listening to music played by two of



Musicians.
Beginning of the scroll painting in the University Museum, "Ladies of the Court".



Ladies listening to music.
Detail of the scroll painting, "Ladies of the Court".

their number. This is one of the best passages in the painting. First comes the p'i-p'a player, a lady seated upon a stool with a large guitar-like instrument held nearly vertical in her lap. The p'i-p'a became very popular in T'ang times and there were many varieties of it. This is one of the four stringed types apparently. The body is round, not pear-shaped, and one can make out only four pegs for the strings. The next figure on the painting is that of a plump woman seated upon a mat with a ch'in across her lap. The ch'in was a very ancient type of Chinese musical instrument and was always considered the classical instrument par excellence, a symbol of culture and refinement. It was, in effect, a long narrow board, hollow, with five strings stretched upon it from end to end. In the early Buddhist paradise scenes there is sure to be a ch'in player prominent among the musicians. It was a characteristic Court instrument, so we are not surprised to find it represented on this scroll. The audience listening to these two musicians consists of three ladies seated in a row, one who is evidently of higher rank than the others in an arm chair of elegant simplicity, the two next to her on stools.

There are six figures in the second group. Three are ladies walking beside a small sedan chair towards the first group. The chair is carried by two little maids and is occupied by a young child who has a rosette in his hair and holds a little bird upon his outstretched finger. The lady walking in front carries a pail in her left hand while on her arm perch two billing parrots. As she turns her head to look back at the child she seems to connect the two groups psychologically.

Beyond is a third group, made up merely of three ladies standing around a baby who seems to be just learning to walk. The lower part of his chubby body is hidden in a long skirt but his little fat arms and the tuft of hair over his forehead are entirely adorable. He is holding out his hands towards the slender lady who stands with her back partly turned towards us as she leans forward to catch him. To the left of this little scene are two fine standing figures, a lady with arms raised to adjust some detail of her coiffure and a tall maid who stands in front of her holding out a shallow bowl.

Finally, one sees a woman sitting on the floor with her hands upon a tiny fluffy dog in her lap. In front of her frisks another little dog pursued by two children. Two more children, at the end of the roll, have turned to look back and point at something but

what it was we do not know for the painting ends here abruptly, cut off, it would appear, through the very middle of a scene. At any rate the pointing children indicate that there was once more of the painting than is actually here now.

The silk is very old, badly cracked and split in places, and frayed along the edges. These ragged edges seem to have been carefully trimmed at some time, probably when the painting was last mounted. In fact it was trimmed so closely along the upper edge that the tops of two of the ladies' coiffures were sliced off, although not deeply. The mounting, evidently of far more recent date than the painting, has been most carefully done upon a wider piece of silk. The lost bits of coiffure have been filled out upon this mounting so as to improve the general appearance of the painting. The tone and colour of the mount are more nearly like those of the old silk than is apparent in the reproduction, where the contrast is too great.

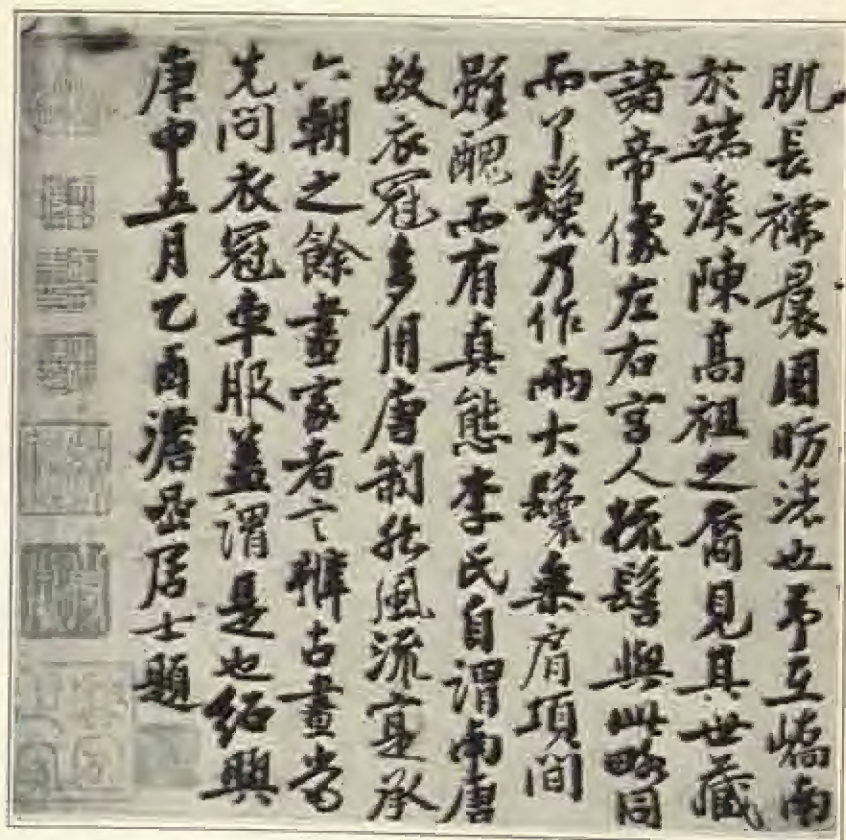
So much for the description of the painting. At the end is the inscription separated from the painting by a strip of brocade and itself written upon paper in a heavy black ink. That it is considerably older than the present mounting is indicated by the fact that it, too, has received a drastic trimming, suffering most at the lower edge, where some of the characters have been sorely clipped. At the beginning of this inscription several red owner's seals have been actually cut in two and at the end appear several more, the largest of which is exactly on the edge. The calligraphy is that of the Sung dynasty, and a delightful example, too, in its rich velvety blacks on the thick, warm-toned paper.

This inscription, which proved to be rather a difficult one to read, has finally been translated by Mr. Quentin Huang. It reads as follows:

"This is the picture of the palace drawn by Chou Wên Chû. The number of women and children is eighty, among which is one man drawn to life. It is adorned with musical instruments, pots, fans, mats, and parrots, but without birds and animals. Wên Chû, a native of Chu Yang, was a Han-lin graduate of Kiang Nan waiting for the Imperial order. When he painted pictures of men and women his style was like that of Chou Fang but with more delicacy and beauty. Once he painted a picture of the Southern Farm for Hou Chu, which is said to be the best piece of painting of the time. Later on the picture was presented to the Court and was ordered

[by the Emperor] to be kept in the secret chamber. This picture of the palace is said to be the real piece [by Chou Wên Chû]. It was kept in the home of the Grand Tutor, Chu Tsai. Some person imitated it to be used as a present. The woman dressing up her hair into a high tuft had been so since the T'ang dynasty. This roll is full of plump persons in long petticoats and jackets in Chou Fang's style.

"When I was in Chiao Nan I saw in Tuan Ch'i the descendants of the Grand Emperor of the Chen dynasty and the emperors'



Conclusion of the text and collectors' seals.

pictures of many generations which they kept. The palace concubine dressed her hair into a tuft similar to this. But the maids dressed their hair into two big tufts hanging down between the shoulders and the neck. Although these were ugly, they possessed the real manner.

"Li himself called the dynasty Southern T'ang and therefore he adopted mostly the clothing and head-dresses of the T'ang system. But the stylish really followed the fashion of the Six dynasties. The

painters have said that to discriminate the ancient pictures we ought to investigate the clothing, headdressing, and carriages which they used. This is what they meant.

"This was written by Chang Nieh, a retired Buddhist scholar, in the fifth moon of the Kēng Shēn year of Emperor Shao Hsing."

The Li referred to was Li Pien (Hsū Chih-kao), founder of a dynasty in 936 A.D., which he called Southern T'ang. He patronized



Text of the inscription on the scroll painting, "Ladies of the Court".
Written by Chang Nieh in 1140 A.D.

literature and art and tried to reestablish the customs and laws of the T'ang dynasty. His grandson, Li Yü (961-975), third and last ruler of this unrecognized state, was a painter, musician, and scholar of repute. He is the Hou Chu for whom Chou Wēn Chū painted the Southern Farm picture mentioned here. Shao Hsing was the second reign title of Emperor Kao Tsung of the Southern Sung dynasty, a title adopted in 1131 A.D. The Kēng Shēn year occurred in 1140. The inscription bears a number of seals. These are:



Ladies accompanying a child.
Detail of the scroll painting, "Ladies of the Court", Second group.

A three lobed seal reading "Hsiao Hsieh Chū"; a square one of "Shu Ao Shih Chia"; another square one reading "Chūn Szū Ma Yin" or "The Seal of Chūn Szū Ma"; the square seal of another member of the Chūn family; one reading "Sou T'ang", meaning "Venerable Hall" (a studio mark); three others not yet deciphered and three which are undecipherable.

The title "Ladies of the Court" was not the original name of this picture, as the characters on the outside of the roll, older than the English name at least, read "T'ang Kung Ch'un Hsiao T'u" or "T'ang Painting of a Spring Morning in the Palace". In smaller characters following this we read "Shēn Ti", or "the spirits are present".

The inscription is, I believe, exactly what it pretends to be, a short description with comments by the retired Buddhist scholar Chang Nieh, who wrote it in the year 1140 A.D. It is possible that since the date of his writing the picture he was describing was lost and that this one was substituted for it. It is equally probable, however, that this is the actual painting, or part of it, to which he was referring, since it was the custom in those days to attach such inscriptions to the paintings they described and criticised and they became from that time on almost an integral part of the painting, at least in Chinese eyes. If this latter be the case, then the painting which we have here is as old if not older than the inscription, which dates from 1140 A.D. As a matter of fact, the painting appears to be considerably older than the inscription.

The inscription speaks of eighty, or eighty-one, figures. The roll, then, at the time that Chang Nieh saw it was much longer than at present, for the painting as we have it now contains only twenty-two figures. It has already been remarked that the MUSEUM scroll ends abruptly with the composition and action of the figures indicating that the painting was originally longer. It also begins very suddenly without the usual margin of space at the head of the roll. This might be due to the close trimming but, again, the composition of the music group itself is not what we should expect at the beginning of a long scroll painting. One would expect a mass of figures with line and psychological interest sweeping from it to the left. This music scene is no introduction. At any rate it is perfectly clear that somewhere, at some time, this interesting and lovely painting was divided into two or more parts—parts which have become separated, some perhaps lost.



Child learning to walk and lady arranging her hair.
Detail of the scroll painting, "Ladies of the Court", Third group.

Last summer it was discovered that one portion at least of the rest of the painting, and that a most delightful one, is still in existence. It is owned by Mr. Bernhard Berenson of Florence, Italy, who has kindly allowed us to reproduce parts of it here. At the beginning of his portion is a scene showing the "one man" spoken of in the inscription, occupied in painting a portrait of a court lady. It may well be that Chou Wên Chû has here represented himself at work. The next scene shows three ladies engaged in catching butterflies in a thin gauze cloth. It is a particularly charming group. There are several very beautiful standing figures, notably the two ladies carrying a basin of water between them. Finally, and perhaps best of all, is depicted a woman seated in a chair with her back partly turned to us while two other ladies stand behind her, one seemingly remonstrating with a refractory child. At the end a lady and a maid are bringing up another chair.

The scene of the man painting the portrait might very well have been originally at the beginning of the complete scroll. In view of the fact that we have in Mr. Berenson's picture only sixteen figures, making with those in the MUSEUM scroll a total of but thirty-eight, it is evident that practically one half of the whole is still missing. These two known portions may have been taken from the painting almost anywhere. Still, the composition of the portrait-painting group, like a glorious opening chord of music, its suitability in subject for the introductory scene, and the fact that the halves of two seals show on the right edge beside it, all lend support to the surmise that this may originally have been at the beginning of the painting. Whether the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM portion followed immediately upon the Berenson one it is impossible to tell; it almost certainly did not come at the very end but that is all that can be said at present.

We see the "one man drawn to life" mentioned by Chang Nieh (the characters read literally, "one man draw spirit"). The musical instruments, vessels, fans, chairs, etc., are all there. But what does he mean by saying that there are no birds or animals represented? For the phrase *ch'üan tieh pu yü* (literally "dogs butterflies not with") is an idiom meaning "without birds or animals". Certainly two dogs appear on the MUSEUM scroll as well as a bird, and there is a dog on the Berenson portion. There are butterflies, too, for that matter.

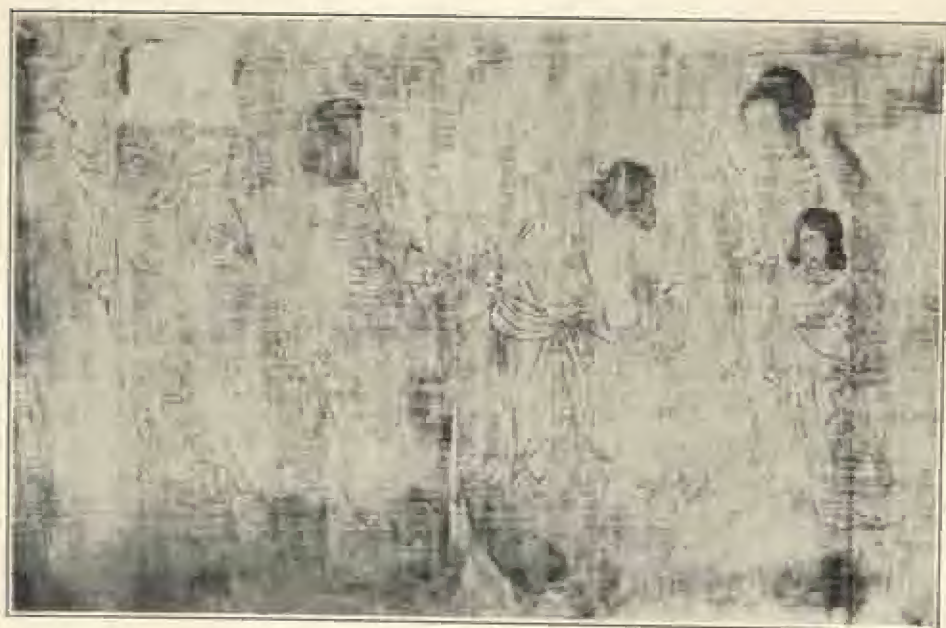
Chang Nieh's remarks about the authenticity of the painting are interesting. "This 'Picture of the Palace' is said to be the real



Lady and children playing with dogs.
End of the scroll painting, "Ladies of the Court".

painting," he observes. "It was kept in the home of the Grand Tutor Chu Tsai." And then he adds as if in parenthesis, "Some person imitated it to be used as a present." We know, therefore, that even at this early date there existed a copy or imitation. Is the painting which we have here the original one by Chou Wên Chû's own hand, or is it the copy which was made soon after? Chang Nieh's statement that it is "said to be" the original conveys to our Western minds the impression that he had a doubt about it and his further remark to the effect that there existed a copy strengthens that impression. However, this may be merely a Westerner's deduction from the English translation of a text the meaning of which is somewhat obscure in places, even to a Chinese scholar. What does the painting itself tell? Is it by the hand of a master or not? Does it have any of the earmarks of a copy or no?

We should expect really great things of Chou Wên Chû. He was one of the most famous painters of his time. He flourished about 970 A.D. and therefore belonged to the period of the Five Dynasties and to Early Sung. Dr. Herbert Giles and others have gathered together references to him from various Chinese sources. He was a native of a district of Nanking, made *tai-chao* (one of the senior officials) in Han-lin College, which was the Imperial Academy of Learning, and his work was, apparently, appreciated by the Emperor of the Southern T'ang state, who bought one of his pictures and sent it to the Imperial gallery. Chou's specialty was the depicting of court ladies and children and in painting their faces he followed the style of Chou Fang of the T'ang dynasty. He had, however, we would conclude, his own characteristic method of representing drapery and edges of folds, a manner which is noticeable in all those paintings which are said to be by him. There are a number of paintings in European, American, and Chinese collections which are attributed to this painter. In the catalogue of P'ang Lai Ch'en's collection there is one entitled "The Noble Woman". The Lai Yuan Company published in 1916 a catalogue of paintings obtained by them from old Chinese collections and among these are two album pieces attributed to Chou Wên Chû, "Viewing Pine Trees" and "Musical Harmony". The latter is rather convincing, if one may judge from the reproduction. In the *Shên Chou* (a Chinese magazine of art published during 1908 and 1909) is the reproduction of a painting said to be by Chou called "The Morning Toilet", depicting two ladies standing in an interior. The Boston Museum of Fine



Catching butterflies and carrying water.
Middle scenes of Mr. Berenson's scroll painting.



Group of ladies.
Last part of Mr. Berenson's scroll painting.



The portrait painting scene.
First part of Mr. Bensen's scroll painting.

Arts has an album piece attributed to Chou showing a child tumbling on a terrace. The British Museum possesses a short scroll entitled "Women and Children on a Terrace". In this children are washing and helping women to cut melons and a woman with a child on her left arm holds out a small doll to a baby who is being bathed in a tub. The composition and style are delightful; the actual execution, however, is now considered to have been done later than Chou Wên Chû and the painting is probably a copy after one by him. The Musée Guimet possesses a picture also ascribed to Chou called "Goddesses Playing", which depicts three graceful leaf-adorned figures sitting around a chess (or Gô) board under a pine tree.

The best of these works attributed to the master all betray a certain subtle quality of line in the figures which imparts life and movement to them. In the execution of architectural details and properties we see a clear delicate line, drawn in a rather precise manner without being at all mechanical. But in this simple, serene environment the figures appear nervous and highstrung. We have a right to expect this quality of rhythmic vitality in the work of a painter so much admired by the Chinese themselves, who considered it of the highest merit in painting. We may safely conclude that the figures drawn by the great master Chou Wên Chû would be full of this vitality.

But as a matter of fact we do not find this particular quality to any extent in the MUSEUM or Berenson scrolls. The charm of the figures is undeniable, the flow of the lines, their delicacy and rhythm are captivating. There are passages of pure beauty of design, both in the line compositions and in the arrangement of the darks of the heads. But if one traces the figures one arrives at the conclusion that the artist was finding his delight in the line itself rather than in the delineation of living people. One is struck by the stolidity of the figures—the line flows but the figures barely move. There is none of the fluttering nervous tension of the ladies in the Shên Chou picture for example, or in the painting of the two musicians. It is the line of a talented copyist drawing from another painting, not that of an artist whose hand feels the figure as his eye follows its curves. The faces are all alike, fat, with thick noses and stupid expressions. They are monotonous.

Lovely as the painting is as a whole it lacks that vitality and power which would mark it the work of a great artist. We cannot help concluding that it is a copy, probably a very early one made directly from the original itself by an artist who shows taste and distinction and much feeling for design, but who lacks the divine spark. Chou's easy composition, quaint figures, and charm of line are there but without his energy and suggestion of living movement. All the tricks of his brush are played upon, the bunchy folds of sleeves over the forearm, with their repetition of lines, the way in which hems of skirts curl up in a little series of scallops, the smooth, coiling curve of the edge at the end of a long scarf; but the theme is line and not life. Whether Chou Wên Chû worked in outline as in this picture, we do not know. All the other works which are by him or which are attributed to him are, so far as we know, in colour.

The question has occurred, of course, as to the relationship of the MUSEUM and Berenson paintings. Unfortunately the author has had no opportunity to examine the Berenson painting or study the two side by side. Judging from a comparison of the MUSEUM scroll with a very fine photograph of the Berenson one, however, there seems little reason to doubt that the two belong to each other. In style of painting they are identical, there are the same schemes of arrangement, tricks of pose, mannerisms in depicting folds and scarfs, there is the same character of the line itself. The first points may mean nothing because they are Chou's, whether in original or copy (a copy would seize upon his characteristics and emphasize them). But

what a copy might fail to catch is that very quality of line which made Chou a master and made his figures alive. The figures of both the MUSEUM and the Berenson scrolls fall short, as has been said, of showing this vitality. They are delightful examples of pure beauty in line design, in which respect they seem to have close artistic kinship with some of the early Japanese wood block prints. Such details as materials and measurements are rather convincing also. The silk appears to be exactly the same in both paintings and it has suffered precisely the same amount and kind of wear and tear. The heights of figures average the same and those which are similar in character and pose are of equal heights. Even the dimensions of faces are identical. The Berenson piece has not been trimmed quite so much at the bottom as the MUSEUM scroll and is therefore a fraction of an inch wider. It seems almost without question that they were once parts of the same painting.

In conclusion, therefore, we may say that although this delightful painting has passed for a T'ang work and was for centuries supposed to be by the artist Chou Wên Chû (who, after all, was a painter of the Five Dynasties and early Sung rather than of T'ang) there is good reason to believe that it is actually an early copy of a picture by Chou, a copy which was made before 1140, judging from the silk, its condition, the general character of the figures, and the evidence of the inscription which accompanies the painting and which appears to be genuine. If this supposition be true we have here a Sung painting of high order which, as a copy or imitation after a great master, reflects many of his best qualities and gives us a work of distinction, beauty, and charm.

THE EMBLEMS OF THE TLINGIT CULTURE

BY LOUIS SHOTRIDGE

RECENTLY the MUSEUM placed on exhibition in the Tlingit Hall of the American Section a collection of objects, the greater part of which is shown as representative of the native art of the Tlingit nation. Some of the pieces are unique in character, others grotesque in form, and some of them may appear, to a stranger, as if they had served in a fantastic masquerade. But if one makes a close examination he will readily discover in most of the fine old pieces the æsthetic emotions that played the main part in their creation.

The more important part of the collection consists of objects carved of wood but there are also fine examples of weaving, embroidery, and drawing. All of these display sufficient evidence of a well-developed æsthetic sense in the mind of the native artist; instantly it becomes evident that the taste for ornamentation, here, is not rudimentary. The intent of the maker is obvious, a distinguishing quality which marks a difference between the things shown here and things of the same nature that are produced in other parts of our land.

To know the better side of the American Indian one must learn more about his moods and emotions. Of the more important groups of aborigines, the Tlingit tribe of the southeastern coast of Alaska appears to be one of the least known. And until ethnological investigators followed the trail of the straggling natives into the most remote parts, the character of the people was not clear for the reports of the early European explorers had conveyed all but that which was most important.

Immediately after the discovery of the existence of rich furs and gold and of the salmon which abound in this northern land, a profound change took place in the life of the natives: more strange people came who eventually took command of everything. But it is to be regretted that this dominant race of people made no authentic study of the Tlingit until long after the time of the latter's confounding by the engulfing foreign influence, when "evil water" (whiskey) and greed of trade had debauched the native ideals.

Hence, the Tlingit appeared in most publications as debased characters. But the determination to investigate did not wane,

thanks to the very few qualified men who camped upon the trail of the truth of things and to the very generous persons who, from time to time, supplied funds in support of expeditions.

The lack of reliable native interpreters is now the greatest handicap to all careful scientific research. Hence the puerile form in which most of the important legends have gone into record. A Tlingit who has felt the thrill of the true quality of the old legends will experience only a feeling of indignation when reading such childish presentations of that which he has cherished. Personally, I feel, after long holding my peace, at last compelled to voice my true feelings. I realize of course that only a skilful writer of the English language can do justice to the true spirit of my people and the lack of such a qualification has always been my handicap. Being thus unprepared, I can only do the next best thing and take advantage of an opportunity which has offered itself to illustrate the true psychology of my people by the simple means of their native art.

Like all men who have a desire to accomplish something, I have experienced disappointments and discouragements but by the unfailing support and constant encouragement of the late Dr. George Byron Gordon I was put in a position to present to the public view this collection of objects, each of which has long held the unlimited reverence of my people, an esteem inspired only by those objects which are sacred to man.

It was only through a claim to some distant relationship that I was, at last, permitted to open the old chests and to take out and carry away from their sanctuaries the fine old pieces that had not seen daylight since the white man's religion and law had supplanted those of the natives.

A stranger cannot very well appreciate the part which these old symbolic objects played in the life of the Tlingit until he has some idea of the social system of the people, so that it is very necessary to present a brief outline of this.

From the time that Tlingit history first records their settlement in Alaska, the people have existed as two great bodies. One moiety is known as Tlhigh-naedi while the other is called Shungoo-kaedi throughout the whole region, and they refer to each other as Klayade-na, "Oneside-nation". The Tlingit word "na", thus applied, corresponds closely to the English term "nation", and for convenience each moiety will be here referred to as a nation, regardless of the English definition of the term. The origin of this division we

must leave for future discussion and for the present content ourselves with only those things that can readily be explained.

Both nations were at first agglomerations of independent groups which are termed clans. A clan is a subdivision comprising a number of household groups and known by a name which in turn is derived from the subdivision's original geographic location.

With the development of culture, clans became classified according to paternal descent, a classification in which different ranks were assigned. Hence the creation of objects called totems and the adoption of some living thing by which one might be identified became necessary. The immediate presence of the raven, whale, beaver, eagle, bear, wolf, and other denizens of the forest and sea of the region, and the Tlingit knowledge of their peculiarities, explain the prominent part they play in the mythology and arts of the people. It is by this system of picture-writing in graphic and plastic arts that the history of my people has been preserved and transmitted through centuries.

So here they are. I hope to live to see the day when these old things will help to bring the true character of their makers into the white man's light.

THE EXHIBITION OF THE TLINGIT COLLECTION

In arranging the collection here displayed, the most important specimens are placed, as nearly as space permits, in the order of their rank. In the several cases are grouped objects illustrating the various phases of the life of the people; examples of fine carving in wood, wearing apparel, exhibitions of the arts of weaving in wool and porcupine-quill embroidery, feast dishes, war implements and trophies, paraphernalia of the shaman or medicine-man, ceremonial masks, and a complete collection of ceremonial headdresses. In a small case lies the great hat of Shahe-he, the first woman diplomat, and in another the relics of Saetl-tin, the famous "Bride of Tongass". Of the important pieces, the fine old headdress called "The Lord of Hawks", which formerly held in its clutches the fate of unfortunate slaves, and the Ganook Hat, which represents the most ancient being in Tlingit mythology, are the most noteworthy. But each is important enough to be treated by itself.

In a case on the right side of the centre aisle as one enters the Tlingit Hall, stands forth like a herald who has an important message to convey the Raven Hat of the Tlhigh-naedi nation, representing

culture; next in order is the Whale, an emblem of greatness, used as a crest object by the leading clan; here is also the Sea-lion, an emblem of endurance; and then the Frog, an emblem of persistence pertaining to the Kiks-adi clan.

On the left side, appearing as if it had always gazed upon the ocean, indifferent to all curious eyes, stands the Eagle, also in the form of a ceremonial hat, the emblem of the Shungoo-kaedi nation and signifying determination. Next in order is the Grizzly-bear, an emblem of power, representative of the Tae-quedi clan, and then the Wolf, the emblem of the Kaguan-ton clan and signifying courage. The old hats and helmets, indeed, portray well the symbolic ideas of their owners, for each clan, in its own geographic location, contributed its share towards the success of the nation of which it was a part. There are also other representations but we mention here only the most important pieces in order to explain the object of their presence.

According to the legends that refer to these old ceremonial hats, each clan well earned its possession, since to establish such in its rank had demanded much sacrifice, not only of personal comfort but even of life itself when it was necessary. Therefore it was a natural thing that as the people grew and spread wide over the region, an attitude of local patriotism overshadowed the feeling of kinship and disputes over ownership of emblematic objects became a menace to all peaceful divisions. These disputes more than once developed into serious warfare that for a time threatened the further existence of the weaker communities. At the same time men of sound reasoning and the rich, in a more intelligent manner, procured the ownership of rights and claims to those things which were deemed most honourable in the native mind.

The old Raven Hat, if it could but talk, could tell much about the thirty years' struggle of the Ganah-taedi of Chilkat with their former kin the Tluknah-adi of Sitka. In the dispute between these two powerful clans to determine which held absolute right to the custodianship of the national emblem, the Ganah-taedi are said to have shown greater proof of being the original body. Hence, the Raven (page 367) appears among the Tluknah-adi possessions only as a symbol of alliance and is known by a characteristic name.

The popular Raven appears also among nearly every important division but usually in an unobtrusive manner corresponding to the means by which it was acquired. It is a common trait of human

nature for every man to have the feeling of being a great chief in his own house, and, whatever its nature, probably his account of the origin of his possession resounded only within his own walls. But it was the general attitude of the people that counted for most in determining the soundness of a claim to ownership of an important crest object. Such were the conditions under which the Tlhigh-naedi emblem grew into popularity.

The Eagle emblem, however, was established in a more sensible and peaceful manner in spite of the fact that at the beginning its owners appeared with an aggressive attitude, and the Eagle to the last was honoured on account of the history of its establishment. When I first listened to the legend relating how the Shungoo-kaedi obtained undisputed ownership of the Eagle I could not help but admire the astute mind of Chief Stuwuka and I feel honoured and proud of being born of a mother who could bestow such a personal name upon her son. This incidental admission will explain my claim to some relationship with nearly every important Tlingit family.

* * * * *

One bright summer day in Chilkat I sat, squatting on the ground, the kodak with which I had just taken a photograph of the Chilkat Eagle Hat lying on my lap; I dared not make a move that might interrupt the aged Kagan-ton who inhaled the pleasant air in a man's day-dream of the glory of the past as he recited, with unconcealed pride, the part that his ancestors played in establishing the national emblem, occasionally pointing to the old ceremonial hat where it lay on a log as he went on to tell the story of the Eagle emblem.

In this study of Tlingit mythology, it is interesting to note the narrator's preliminary remarks and his personal opinion on different subjects. In rewriting the following legend, except in expressions where obsolete forms of English have to be employed, I use freely words that convey more clearly the interpretation of the Tlingit thought.

THE PURCHASE OF ABSOLUTE RIGHT TO THE EAGLE EMBLEM

"My lad! You ask me to tell you by what means the Eagle became the object of our pride. I cannot blame you for not knowing the main source of this pride because I know that your family were

always modest and refrained from telling you, at an early age, anything which might cause you to have a feeling of superiority over your fellow men; but you have now grown to manhood and it is time for you to know why you bear the name Stuwuka.

"I myself spent all of my young days in your grandfather's house; Shot-hitch (Shotridge) had many men under his authority but I was always his favourite. Thus I had the privilege of learning the ways of a nobleman as well as the true circumstances of the foundation of our party. But I never like to tell these because those of us who have given so much for our own cause cannot bear the thought that that which was uppermost in our minds is no longer consonant with the spirit of modern times. But this is true to the prophecy of Sana-haet (God of Storm), who appeared in a dream to a virgin to give his warning: 'In sooth, new things will come and the old will pass whence they came. Thy people shall leave the old and take the new for that which thou now honourest shall be deemed unfit for that which will come forth from time.'

"From the day of creation we have been enlightened by intelligent dreams. Thus our walks in life, more or less, were guided by them. But forgive me, my lad, I have wandered away from my story.

"In truth, from the beginning the Eagle ranked high in the esteem of our party. But once ambitious men began, what was there to hinder them? The Eagle was put on a hat in one town and perhaps on a ceremonial staff in another, each assuming its right to ownership, a right which had derived its origin from a myth of an ancestor who fed the eagles when distressed by famine. But you yourself have learned, lad, that an important object cannot be acquired merely by feeding fish to the birds.

"Thus the Shungoo-kaedi went on, very much contented with their idea of virtue, although well aware that the Tsimshian Taequedi were then claiming their own Eagle as the most important object in the Tsimshian land.

"In the meantime your own ancestor, Youwok, grew into manhood. The man, indeed, was one born for a purpose and he never failed in his mission; possibly he was one who would now be spoken of as 'lucky'. Even while a youth the good goddess of fortune was constantly by his fire. It seems there was nothing that this man could not have; all sources of riches yielded to his bidding. Why was this man successful? It is said that it was the rule of his early

manhood to serve his fellow men and his generosity was limited only by his physical strength and ability.

"Thus Youwok became a man of wealth at an early age. But for a time he did not know what to do with his great amount of property. It was not then as it is now (1915), when there are candy, gold teeth, neckties, and whiskey for which money can be spent freely. A foolish young man now should not wonder why he follows a dog-trail in life; he has nothing and merely looks for a bone that someone may cast away. But here I go away again from my story.

"It was generally expected that the young chief would use his great wealth in placing himself in a high station in life. He consulted men of sound reasoning and they all advised him according to the current customs of that time. One man perhaps suggested that he call together great men of other towns and in their presence bring forth his daughter and put a mark upon her to bear throughout her life. [In the coming-out into society of a woman of caste, the lobes of her ears were perforated during the ceremony and pendants, indicating the rank of the wearer, were inserted.] Another suggested this and another that but all these ideas did not find comfort in the mind of this modest man.

"One early dawn, in his sleeping-chamber, Youwok talked to his wife. Possibly the woman complained of being kept awake by her restless husband and they were heard to say:

" 'What can be in your mind-vision to cause you to be so sleepless?'

" 'It was the Eagle. It seemed to take a firm hold on my mind and as much as I tried I could not sleep after it entered there.'

" 'What sort of an eagle should so take a grip on your foolish brain? You have been dreaming of the poor old bird that we once helped in landing his salmon.'

"The woman knew well the working power of her husband's mind and that he was not the kind to be wasting thoughts on a fisher-eagle but, like most cherished young wives, she wished to make fun of her beloved husband.

"That morning, before the first meal of the day, the local council of the Shungoo-kaedi sat by the morning fire of Youwok, nodding their old heads up and down as a sign of their approval of the plan which the young chief laid before them. After a long silence an elder spoke up:

" 'You have spoken that which is now fixed in your mind; who is there to change it and tell the outcome of it? But the goddess of fortune is always known to be present wherever a noble mind forms the destiny of man. Therefore, Youwok, go and follow that which your true mind dictates and may this same good goddess of fortune smile on you in your undertaking.'

"The question of the Eagle emblem was ever uppermost in the minds of the councilmen, hence the elder spoke their unanimous approval.

"Our party, at that time, was residing at Clay-point Fort [the first settlement of the northern division of the Shungoo-kaedi, on the shore of Icy Strait] and it was from that place that Youwok put his canoe in the water and paddled away to the land of the Tsimshian [northern British Columbia]. . . . No, indeed, he was not alone. It is by custom that only the main canoe of an important party is mentioned. The young chief required two great canoes merely to carry the property that he took along to offer in exchange for the right to the Eagle. Yes, there were many other canoes. They say it was something like a great war party.

"They were skilful paddlers, those old-time men. It was then not as it is now, when one can take his bag and walk onto a steamboat and, while enjoying a soft comfortable bed, arrive at a great paddling distance. It is all wonderful, this new life, but such a soft life has much impaired men's abilities. Who is there now with a mind firm enough to paddle to the other end of the world in order to satisfy the need of his people? Indeed the land of the Tsimshian is at a great distance. I have known just such paddling myself when I went on one of Shot-hitch's visits thither. But it was not too far for a man of determination.

"So on paddled the Shungoo-kaedi braves as each stroke drew them nearer to the object of their desire. The party made a pause at this and at that town and in each a wish for their speed to success was expressed. I think it was from among the Tongass division of our party that an important person was taken aboard and it is said that this was the man who performed the office of interpreter between the Tlingit and the Tsimshian people.

"Ku-haedgu, the great Tsimshian Tae-quedi chief, resided at Git-gahtl, the old town near the mouth of Jin-heen [Skeena River], where our ancestors resided for so many generations. In the hands of this man lay the fate of the Shungoo-kaedi Eagle.

" 'It may be that Ku-haedgu himself does not know that we now have made the Eagle an object of importance in our own land, or possibly the man is well informed concerning the former relationship of his people and ours, for there has been no record of an adverse attitude on the part of the Tsimshian towards our free use of the object.' Such were the thoughts of our men as their party approached the land of the Tsimshian.

"The Tsimshian Tae-quedi are a people between the Tsimshian proper and the Tlingit. Love for a fair woman has always been held responsible for a man's being half of that people and half of this. Such was the origin of our friends here and, regardless of the power of the Tae-quedi proper, who made their first settlement at Tongass, this division had increased and, through intermarrying with their immediate neighbours the Tsimshian, had developed into something like an independent nation. Who is there to rebuke such a state of affairs? There is at this moment sufficient evidence for the belief that another nation, made up of persons who are half European and half Tlingit, is to come forth owing to careless affection. Such is the destiny of the true Tlingit.

"From time unknown it had been the custom of a party, on an important mission, to halt at the approach to its destination and prepare itself for a reception. Thus, the sun being yet high above the horizon when the Shungoo-kaedi party arrived at the approach to Git-gahtl, a camp for the night was called here. By a great fire that evening, each man spoke forth that which he had formed in his own mind and from all these thoughts was arranged an oration to be delivered in introducing the mission of the party.

"The daily life was well begun when the arrival of the Tlingit party was noted at Git-gahtl. There was a confusion—this house and that were thrown open and from within the inmates rushed forth, as in response to a call of alarm. Meanwhile, in the manner of a peace party at the end of a great war, the arrivals lay afloat in the presence of the crowds of people that gathered in front of the town. All at once the clamour of excitement was hushed, and a voice was heard:

" 'Which of our friends have thus journeyed hither to honour us with this unexpected visit?'

"In answer to the inquiry the spokesman of the visitors spoke:

" 'From Clay-point Fort these thy descendants have journeyed to thy presence.'

"And then the speaker continued and delivered his well-rehearsed speech. Behold, my lad, I am no longer young and my own grandfather was even older than I am now when he recited to me this old story and I forget even important things. Hence, I can repeat only the important parts of the speech that was given there.

" 'My grandfather Ku-haedgu,' the speaker began.

" 'Thy grandfather would listen to thy words,' a voice answered.

" 'What is foremost in a man's mind when he realizes, when confronted with a duty which no man could avoid, that he has reached the limit of his knowledge of life? Through want of a plain path he is confused. Indeed, a man in such a position is once more an infant who cries out for his wants; he may cry for that which is good to the taste, he looks to some one whom he knows to supply these wants, and he is made happy through affection. It is in like manner, with the feeling of an infant, that thy grandson Youwok has come to thy presence; he craves not that which is good to the taste but that which is the desire of a man.

" 'What is there to hinder a man's progress when he journeys on a right trail of life? He is bound for the desired end. But he who sets forth to find must make a mark by which those who follow may be guided. Thy grandchildren, from their land, have now set forth upon this trail of life and are determined to reach the desired end. In thy hands, O chief, lies the object by which these, thy descendants, will bear in mind the Great Shell from which they came. Man knows no honour greater than that which these thy grandsons would bestow upon thee—the privilege of fulfilling the desire which is uppermost in their minds.'

"The purpose of the Shungoo-kaedi journey thither was no trifling matter; there was not a town in which this could remain unknown. Therefore even the youths at Git-gahtl understood the meaning of the speech. During the brief silence that followed there were messengers who rushed here and there, apparently delivering some whispered opinions.

" 'Thou nobleman, thy grandfather has heard thy noble thought.' And here the speaker turned his face and called out some names:

" '... Indeed, we have been honoured by the visit of the noble. Go thither! Let these your friends come to the warmth of our fires; they must be fatigued by their long journey.'

"In response to the call a group of young men came forward, and the baggage of the visitors was immediately carried away to different houses. But there were two canoes, each bearing a full load, well manned, still afloat beyond reach. After the other canoes were emptied and pushed aside, Youwok stepped ashore and, empty-handed, was led to the abode of the town chief.

"On the upper dais of the great room stood our ancestor Youwok. And there before him, within those walls, was a little world of wonder. The Eagle appeared on all sides; the great bird was carved, in various characters, on the house-pillars, the house-screens, the retaining timbers, and on the many chests. Here was, indeed, the House of the Eagles. For a moment Youwok felt sad, not because of disappointment, but because he thought of the comparison between this display and the style in which the object was shown at his own home. He thought of the original Eagle (page 377) of his ancestors which had been borne through so many changes of life; how small it seemed now! Then he was aroused by another thought. Insignificant as it might seem, this piece had been a cause of the foundation of his party.

"From his seat at the rear of the huge fire rose Ku-haedgu, the great chief. Who is there to imitate the manner of such a nobleman? Like the peaceful flow of a mighty river his words were spoken and these could not be turned back. They say the man was not of great stature. The corners of his noble forehead were like bays and a great beard hung down upon his chest. What a character! I often wonder why our own men never wore such a sign of distinction. I myself, unconsciously, pluck out the hairs as soon as one appears on my chin. With open arms he pointed to the seat he had just vacated and spoke;

"'My grandson, welcome to the house of thy grandfathers, and here is thy seat. Who is there to sit in the Eagle House with more grace than thou?'

"Then Youwok was surprised; this was, in truth, a turn of affairs contrary to that for which he was prepared and there remained no way in which to offer his well-rehearsed speech of presentation. He had planned to offer his own 'presents' first, but he was beaten in this. After he was seated, Youwok, in a confused manner, spoke:

"'In thy house, my grandfather, there is plenty and thou shouldst wish for nothing more. Yet I bring to thy hands some things, not because thou art in need of these things but because

they are products of my own land. In those canoes yonder, my grandfather, are pieces of fur that may add more to thy comfort and there are also men [slaves] whom I, personally, have trained to attend to thy wants.'

"On that great face, which was lifted high and moved about as if to make certain that all those present had heard, was a broad smile when Ku-haedgu spoke his acceptance:

"'In truth, my grandson, when a man is at my age he looks only for that which offers him more comfort. Ha! And thou hast brought me these things? Indeed, thou hast come at an opportune moment; henceforth I shall feel secure against man's pity when I take the seat of the aged.'

"Again the lord of the town looked about and called out the names of his chosen men:

"'. . . Go, fetch these things that my grandson has brought for me.'

"When the things were carried in, there were bundles of various sizes, of fur of the sea-otter, beaver, marten, fox and ermine. There were also bundles of moose-hides and behind this great pile of property stood, in order, a well-selected group of young slaves; they say these were one count [twenty] in number.

"In those days the exchanging of important things was done in a respectful manner. And every service was performed in like manner. A man of high character was never known to name or set a price upon his skill or labour and it was according to his own sense of honour, too, that a man expressed his thanks. But now, if the iron dollars are not sufficient in number, we cannot get that which we desire.

"A year, perhaps, had passed when our party called together people from other towns to celebrate the dedication of the new Eagle House at Clay-point Fort. The last ceremony was then drawing to a close, each of our men had sung his song [term for offer of contribution], and it was about dawn of the next day when You-wok stood by the great pile of his own property. On his head was placed the new Eagle Hat—the same one there before you. In concluding his speech, before the distribution of the main offering among the guest party, personal names were bestowed on those members in whom all hopes of progress were then centred, names to commemorate important events which had occurred in our affairs. At last the spokesman announced the new name for the young chief:

"Henceforth this man shall be no longer Youwok but he shall be called Situ-wu-kah [Astute Man]. Tae-quedi! Naeh-adi! Naes-adi! Yan-edi! and Chukan-edi! [Original clans.] In your firm grasp is now the object of your desire. Who is there to dispute your claim to its ownership when ye bear forth into life the Eagle? But before we raise our heads in pride it is proper that we give honour to the noble mind which is the source of one's pride. We have learned that where even a crafty mind fails, a generous mind succeeds. Surely there never was a decision made with more wisdom than that of this man when he decided to clear away the feeling of embarrassment."

"Now, my lad, I have conveyed to your mind the source of our pride and you bear that same name, the mention of which brings back to the mind of a true man the history of its origin. Many men bore this name before you—noblemen, indeed, who did honour to it. And when I hear about your journeys to the far corners of the strange world, I would, only in silence, invoke some unseen power to grant you success and bear the name clear of disgrace and shame."

The Tlingit definition of the term Situ-wu-kah does not exactly correspond with "wisdom", which the name is supposed to imply, for "wisdom" in Tlingit cannot very well form a personal name, and the use of the allied word "astute" is more convenient of pronunciation. Hence, the employment of Situ-wu-kah (Stuwu-ka), regardless of its native definition; but the true interpretation of the name is "Wise Man".

Modern influence has now silenced our native life because of our nonconformity and this old hat, likewise, has ceased to inspire patriotism. Hence we can do no more than recite the story of its origin.

The ceremonial hats and other esoteric objects pictured and described on the following pages form a part of the large collection of Tlingit Indian specimens secured by the author on his last expedition to Alaska for the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM. These, together with the best of the other objects, are exhibited in the Tlingit Hall in the west wing of the first floor.

THE WHALE HAT

Ceremonial hat, woven of roots of the spruce tree. Painted on it is a design representing the Whale, an emblem of the leading clan of the Tlhigh-naedi moiety of the Tlingit people, and signifying greatness. The carved wooden piece, fixed on the top of the crown, with locks of human hair for ornamentation, represents the fin of the sea animal.



The Whale Hat.

THE RAVEN HAT

Ceremonial hat, carved of wood to represent the "Raven of the Roof", a characteristic emblem of alliance of one of the important clans of the Tlhigh-naedi moiety of the Tlingit people. Native copper is used for ornamentation, and the "top-stock", which represents the number of ceremonies in which the old hat was brought forth before the public, is woven of roots of the spruce tree. It is like a cylindrical case of seven circular boxes, connected by constricted tubelike openings so that it can expand and contract like a bellows.

The true likeness of the bird, in this specimen, was intentionally ignored in order to make the object appear different from the original Raven Hat.



The Raven Hat.

THE FROG HAT

Ceremonial hat, representing the Frog, an emblem of the Kiks-adi clan, a subdivision of the Tlhigh-naedi moiety of the Tlingit people. It signifies persistence. In their early history the Kiks-adi, like frogs, were unmoved by all the abuses of other parties, but steadfastly continued in their development. Thus came about the adoption of the amphibian, regardless of a possible connotation of loathsomeness.

The specimen is carved of one piece of maple wood, ornamented with copper and brass, and pieces of blue abalone shell are inlaid as teeth and eyes. The "top-stock" is woven of roots of the spruce tree.



The Frog Hat.

THE EAGLE HAT

Ceremonial hat, representing the Eagle, an emblem of the Shungoo-kaedi moiety of the Tlingit people signifying determination. The specimen is carved, in one piece, of the root of the red cedar and ornamented with human hair. The designs, carved on either side and inlaid with pieces of abalone shell, represent the wings, while those on the front part of the crown are the talons of the bird.



The Eagle Hat.

THE WOLF HELMET

War helmet, representing the Wolf, an emblem of the Kagan-ton clan, a subdivision of the Shungoo-kaedi moiety of the Tlingit people. It represents courage. The specimen is carved of wood and crowned with the scalp of the wolf, with the ears of the animal preserved. The skin part of the scalp, however, has been partly destroyed by insects. The teeth are also those of the animal.



The Wolf Helmet.

THE KILLER-WHALE HAT

Ceremonial hat, representing the "Noble Killer", an emblem of the maritime power of the Kagan-ton clan, the most powerful of the Shungoo-kaedi moiety of the Tlingit people. The characteristic name was thus applied to distinguish the object from the original "Killer-whale", founded by a humble subdivision. The specimen is carved of wood. It is inlaid with pieces of blue abalone shell and the fin part is ornamented with locks of human hair.



The Killer-Whale Hat.

THE EAGLE STAFF

Ceremonial object, representing the Eagle, an emblem of determination, and belonging to the Shungoo-kaedi moiety of the Tlingit people. The object is said to be the original piece which the people carried when they took possession of the region, after which it was used as a crest on a ceremonial headdress. But after the making of a hat representing the same object it served as the headpiece of a ceremonial staff, whence the final name.

The specimen is carved of a fine-grained wood and was always protected by a case of woven bark. The human hair ornamentation, which once hung low about the effigy but is now worn to short stubs, consists of locks taken from heads of slaves who were slain during the ceremonies in which the object was brought forth before the public.



The Eagle Staff.

THE SUMERIAN ART SHOP

BY L. LEGRAIN

THE wonderful discoveries made in the royal tombs have been a revelation to many and have proved that old Sumer could lay claim to wealth and beauty. The art of the day of King Mes-kalam-dug and Queen Shub-ad was a classical art, sure of its past and of its methods. Who would not enjoy visiting the old masters at home among their models in the Sumerian art shop?

Terah, the father of Abraham, if the legend is true, was a dealer in idols among the Chaldees. Coming home to his shop one day after a brief absence he found that the idols had quarrelled and the biggest of them had smashed the rest to atoms. Terah was wrong to deal in so many gods. But even his descendants found it hard to forget the golden calf. The old Sumerian had inherited from his ancestors, hunters in the Elamite hills, a keen eye for nature and a love of animal life. This, with a deep feeling of reverence towards the natural forces around him, induced the artist to multiply figures and forms. The clay, stone, or metal image fresh from his hands, was not an idle creation, or a simple memorial made for the sole pleasure of the eyes. The secret of his art, as of all Oriental art, was symbolism, which is the same as art with a meaning, art aiming at the hidden spirit behind the form. This will explain his choice of subjects and his attachment to forms, even though their primitive meaning may be lost and the traditional design be preserved only as a decorative motive.

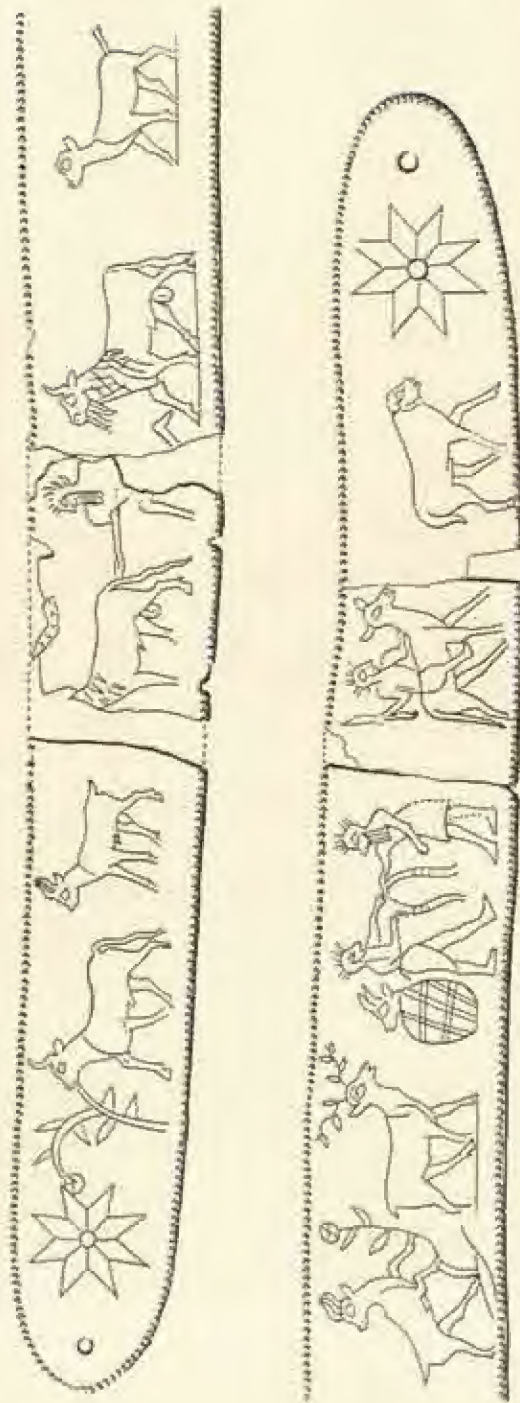
A predecessor of the Sumerian, the Elamite artist, had drawn long before wonderful figures of animals, poor sketches of the human form, and no images at all of the gods. He was a hunter and, where no animals had yet been tamed, his life depended on his happy hunting. His art was subservient to his needs. The pictures traced by a cave man on the walls of an underground chamber are a magical way of reaching the living originals by drawing the likeness of their forms.

Spirits and souls permeate Oriental art and thought, they fill its productions, they are a natural expression of its philosophy and of its religion. A dead man has no longer words on his lips, breath in his nostrils. His spirit has gone, flown into the air like a bird. Departed souls are given the form of a flying bird. The scribe

adopts it as a picture sign in his writing. But the spirit may come back to his body well preserved as a mummy in his grave, his proper home, in the absence of which the wandering soul becomes a ghost, who may prey on the living to their great disadvantage. Hence the great importance of a proper burial, out of devotion, so that the dead may have rest, and to avoid the danger of possession by a dead spirit or a demon. Seven spirits roaming in the desert decided to come back to their home from which they had been driven. They found the soul of that man clean and empty and settled in it. A likeness provided by a mask or a statue is a substitute for the body, mysteriously connected with the original from which it was copied, and also a new home for the soul, an extension of its personality. Indeed, whoever puts a mask on his face acquires a new personality. The statue of the reigning king erected in the temple will be more than a memorial. It will intercede for him. A simple clay figurine will be received as a real votive offering. Did not God himself make the first man in his own likeness, a figure of red clay, before he blew into his nostrils the spirit of life?

The bazaar is a familiar feature of Oriental life. The row of shops on either side of covered streets is the perpetual delight of idlers and visitors. Each trade has its special lane, where the merchants are to be found sitting in the midst of their goods: the jewellers, the goldsmiths, silversmiths, and coppersmiths, the dealers in rugs and perfumes, the slipper makers and saddle makers, the cabinet makers, the grocers, the butchers, the roasters. Round the corner or close to the gate are the pastry shops and the coffee houses, never far from a clear fountain, the halting place of thirsty caravans, the great market of news and gossip.

Terah's idol shop was perhaps located at No. 3 Gay Street outside of the temple enclosure or he may have rented a small room inside, along the lane leading to the Court of Justice, between shell engravers and bead makers. Filigree jewels and necklaces of lapis, shell, carnelian, agate, crystal, of gold and silver beads sold well. The temple officials owned the more important gold, silver, and copper shops. Three furnaces for casting metal were built at the back of the registrar's office. Here the standard weights were kept and other weights were tested before receiving the temple's mark. Trade activity, import and export, extended far by land and sea. The clay documents in the archives have preserved a lively picture of merchants bringing in treasures from India, Persia, Lebanon, and



Animal frieze on the gold diadem.

Arabia. We will follow the devout pilgrims of the Moon God, strolling along the brick paved lanes and wondering at the works of art there displayed.

THE ANIMAL FIGURES

The gold diadem.—Nothing surpasses the naïve charm of this frieze of animal figures worked in intaglio on a thin band of gold. It was once a diadem and was found still adhering to a broken skull. The selection of the subjects is curious, if this was indeed an ornament of a Sumerian lady. But gold always draws such a splendid line across the forehead and amid wavy locks. We are concerned only with the animal figures which seem to be borrowed from the sketch book of a hunter: five on the right, five on the left, facing towards the eight-pointed star at both ends of the band. Among them are some human figures. From left to right we see a bull cropping the green leaves on a corn stalk, a goat, a hairy, bearded bison, a kneeling man, a second bison, a kid; then a goat or antelope rampant, a stag, a crouching goat properly bagged in a net, two bearded hunters holding a rope or a pair of horns, a rider mounted on a donkey, and a mastiff which is clearly the ancestor of the Kurdish sheep-dog. The figures are simply outlined and were probably embossed by pressing the thin metal against separate engraved steatite matrices like printing blocks.

"It is clear that the figures are arranged at haphazard and do not illustrate any consistent theme. The irregularity of their base line and the varying size of the figures support the suggestion that they are taken from stock mould. The actual workmanship is careless and superficial, some of the lines being too faintly impressed. There is a curious difference in the drawings of the animals, which are quite realistic, and that of the human beings, who are little more than caricatures. Something of the same sort is seen in the milking scene frieze from the first dynasty temple at Al 'Ubaid."

That faint flavour of archaism, the contrast of human and animal figures, the choice of the animals, all point towards a very ancient tradition. The bearded bison is found only on Elamite seal impressions. The Elamite hills are his real home. He is the ancestor of the mythological hero, the bull-man Enkidu. The goat rampant amid bushes belongs to the same ancient heraldry of Elam, and so also does the red deer. The Mesopotamian lowland knew only the fallow deer with palmated tines. The rider on a donkey is



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Lions hunting deer, bulls, and goat. Engraved plaques.

an interesting figure, riding astride being practically unknown among inhabitants of the plain. The fashion was probably first imported from the eastern mountains. We should like to know the nature of the object—whip or spear?—which he holds in his right hand. The two hunters with square-cut beard, wild locks of hair, and short loin cloth hail from the same regions. The doubtful object—lasso or pair of horns?—for which they seem to be struggling must have some connection with hunting and the bagged goat behind them. May the gold diadem have been an ancient heirloom or a strange work of art by some Elamite artist, brought as a present to a noble Sumerian lady?

The lion.—The lion is a royal hunter. This is a favourite motive among scenes of animal life, and the beast is represented in strikingly natural poses, with real power and in daring attitudes. His head is shown either turned backward or *en face*, his tail is up, his mane is all bristling with locks in alternate curves like fish scales, defined by a vigorous use of the point. These animal forms are heavy but original and powerful, their combats are rude and full of energy. The rule of symmetry aims at a well-balanced composition of confronted animals. A relief border frames each subject.

Four engraved plaques show the classical grouping of a lion capturing a fallow deer or holding a bull in his terrible embrace, his fangs tearing their necks to drain out the life with the blood from their severed jugular veins. The two other plaques show still more invention and daring in the drawing of inverted bodies. A bull is attacked by two lions. His head thrown back, his front legs beating the air in vain, his hind legs thrown off the point of balance between the two on-rushing beasts, the whole affords an impressive vision of the attack. A goat occupies the same desperate position between its two enemies, but the well observed character of the leaping species has led the artist to figure it upside down, the lions avoiding the horns by grasping the hind quarters in their jaws. A picturesque landscape of high-growing plants of conventional form is the normal background of the rampant bull attacked by the lion. The subjects were selected as an appropriate decoration of the royal harps and backgammon boards. And doubtless the recital of big game hunts and the heroic deeds of famous Nimrod were sung to the accompaniment of the harp during hours of leisure.

Such scenes belong to the heraldic art of the engravers of coats of arms. They are not legendary but they are no longer the direct



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Lions and panther. Gold and silver figures in the round.

vision of real hunting scenes. They are the classical effort of a skilled master whose cartoons will be copied for generations. In Elam the lion is still royal game attacked with spears and arrows and a pack of dogs. He is crouching or seated or walking or charging with his tail extended horizontally. He rises on the back of his victim or faces it, crouching oddly in front, his terrible paw extended, all claws showing, ready to strike. To the realistic hunt, the Sumerian artist prefers a heroic, stereotyped, classical form of hand to hand fight. The primitive hunter is surrounded by legends and transformed into the hero Gilgamesh or his companion the bull-man Enkidu.

Complete heads of the lion in the round, worked in gold as a decorative motive on the queen's chariot, fix forever the vision of the Sumerian artist and a type full of character which continued to be reproduced to the end of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires. The Sumerian lion grins; his eyes are opened widely. His muzzle is characteristically round, retracted, with engraved lines spreading in the form of a palmette. His tongue projects, his teeth are bared, the eyes are inlaid. His ruff is prominent, his mane divided into large ribbed or imbricated masses. The inlaying of eyes is a process as old as the origin of Sumerian art. The sockets were hollowed out and different materials were used, adding to the strangely living appearance of the figure. The Al 'Ubaid lions have eyes made of red jasper for the iris, shell for the white, and blue schist for the lids. The teeth are of shell and the tongue of red jasper. All separate pieces were fastened with copper wire to the core. The wooden core was covered with metal and filled with bitumen, straw, and clay. The result is impressive, the polychromy adding unexpected effects.

Projecting lions' heads in the round were associated with a flat or low relief of the body. The mane and the ruff might be made of inlaid pieces of shell or lapis. A tenon projected at the back of the head and was fixed to the body by a lateral peg. The full relief contrasted with the half-round produces curious and beautiful pieces.

The panther.—Two silver heads of panthers decorated the back rail of the queen's chariot or sledge. The panther is represented but seldom in comparison with the lion and that only on very archaic works of art. The panther has not the whiskers, ruff, and mane of the lion. The skull has the shape of a cat's head and the same erect ears. The character of the massive, powerful, and cruel beast has been well observed by the artist.



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The hunters: Gilgamesh and Enkidu. Engraved plaques.

The heroic hunters Gilgamesh and Enkidu.—There is a strange story of a strange being, Enkidu, half bull, half man, whom Gilgamesh, the king of Erech, finds in the wilderness living with the beasts of the field and attracts and transforms till he becomes his inseparable companion. This is a hunter's story of the Elamite hills, where both heroes are on their quest for adventures in the cedar forests which are the home of Humbaba, the god with the terrible voice. Art and history give to and borrow freely from legend. To the realistic Elamite pictures of the chase of the lion, the boar, and the wild goat, there succeeds in Sumer a classical art which prefers well balanced compositions, where human and animal bodies are rampant, crossed, reversed, in symmetrical heraldic groups. The teaching of a school supplants direct vision. In the Sumerian school the old Elamite art loses its rudeness and some of its originality.

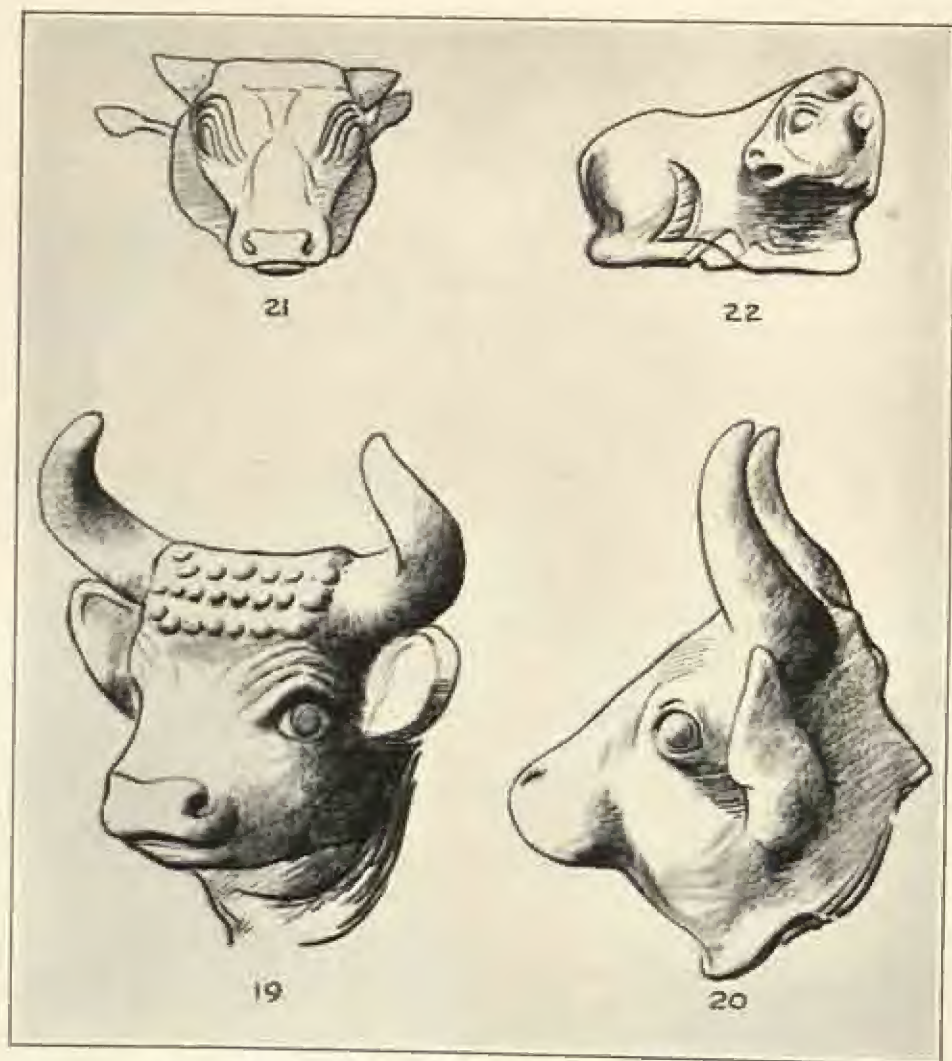
But the first Gilgamesh has still much in common with the primitive hunter. He is nude or has a belt girded about his loins. His head in profile, surmounted by wild locks, becomes by degrees a classical full-face framed in three rows of curls and a carefully spread beard. He is no longer hunting with bow and arrows, spear and hatchet, in company with his dogs. He triumphs in a fight hand to hand or uses the weapons of the inhabitant of the plain: dagger, dart, club, and spear.

A classical composition opposes animals and heroes in a perfect symmetrical arrangement, or doubles them. Two lions or two panthers are lifted by the tail or by one hind leg. Their angry heads are raised in an identical posture.

The figure of Enkidu is a last stage in the transformations of art and legend. The human-headed bull, who so closely resembles Gilgamesh, is probably a hairy, bearded bison seen *en face*. He belongs to the Elamite series of fantastic animals with human attitudes, like the dancing bear, the donkey-harpist, and the butcher-dog. But the bull-man is a strange creation of the Elamite hunters. Not only did they represent a real bull, seated and throwing the arrows of a thunder god, but in a country where they had never figured a god under human aspect, Enkidu becomes a man without ceasing to be a bison with crescent horns and bull's ears, rump, tail, and hind legs adorned with tufts of hair. Floating tresses hang from his neck and shoulders, his chest and arms are those of a man, and so is his beard. He is no longer wild but tamed, and a friend of Gilgamesh. Is this a last echo of the wild bull's first domestication?

His horns have been preserved as a symbol of glory and divinity on the heads of gods and god-like kings.

Engraved shell plaques representing Gilgamesh and Enkidu mastering two panthers or leopards adorned the sounding-boxes of



Bulls and calf. Gold, silver, copper, lapis figures in the round.

royal harps, fitting illustrations of heroic songs in the halls of Sumerian palaces, in the land of Nimrod, the mighty hunter.

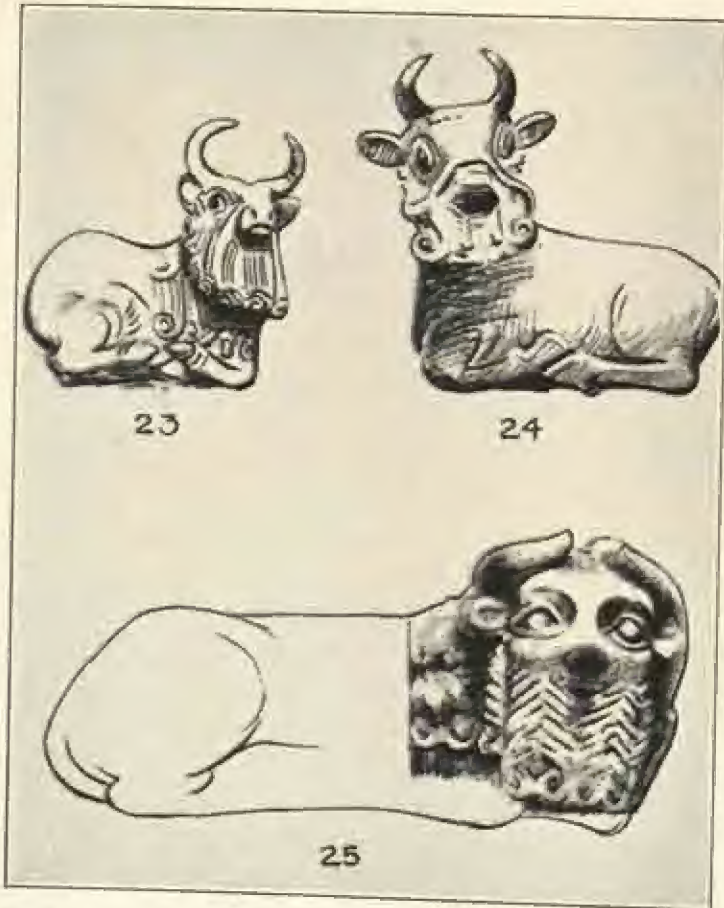
A friendly contest between a human hunter and a rampant bull may be intended as a display of strength and skill. We are still in the Elamite hills as suggested by three piled boulders and conventional bushes with ribbed stems, lanceolate buds, and star flowers.

The hunter wears a fringed or embroidered kilt closing in front and a belt. He is clean-shaven, but the wild locks of his hair are tucked back and probably tied with a fillet. He is certainly different from the closely shorn, stumpy Sumerian, with his peculiar kilt closing behind and the long laps of the woollen material reaching down to between knee and ankle. The hunter has no weapon. He has locked his arms round the neck of the rampant bull or caught him by horn and tail, in both cases proving his wonderful strength. The rampant bull with head turned back, in a well observed posture, has become a classical figure of Sumerian art, and must have been fixed early by primitive artists back in the hills.

Bulls.—The same subject of rampant bulls grazing among the bushes of the Elamite hills has been used profusely by the engravers of shell plaques to decorate the royal harp and backgammon board. Animal life was a favourite motive with primitive herders and hunters were never tired of hearing of the same heroic deeds. The Moon God was called the young bull of heaven. The crescent moon was his golden horn shining over the horizon. The horned mitre had become the proper emblem of the gods. Gold, silver, or copper heads of bulls decorated harps, chariots, or thrones. A gold mascot in the form of a walking bull surmounted the rein-ring of silver. Complete copper statues of bulls in the round and friezes of crouching bulls in low relief adorned the entrance and walls of the temple of Al 'Ubaid. In pasture land the bull was a natural image of wealth and of rejoicing in the multitude of cattle; and from immemorial time it had been the picture of irresistible strength. The golden calf was assured of a long worship.

The Sumerian bull is not a legendary figure but one of the best examples of the ancient portraiture of animals. The silver head from the queen's tomb can compare with the best productions of Greek art, with the rhyton of the silver bull of Mycenae, with the rhyton of the steatite bull from the "two axes tomb" at Knossos. The silver head perhaps was part of a statue with engraved plaques on the chest or simply an ornament on a harp. The eyes are inlaid in shell and lapis. The round horns, flapping ears, and sleek, glossy muzzle are a true copy of nature. A second bull's head of copper with inlaid eyes is a fine piece of work in more conventional style, with formal curls of hair and heavy superciliary folds. The technique of the bull's head of gold and lapis, recovered with the royal harp, has turned out a curious and refined work of art. Smaller

bull's heads of gold decorated the queen's chariot. They are cast in the round, with two projecting pieces to fix them to the back board. The head is rather that of a young bullock. The sharp points of the new horns are still in a line with the forehead, but they give character to the strong triangular head and well modelled skull. The heavy folds above the eyes belong to the same style. It is found again in



The bearded and human-headed bull. Gold and alabaster figures in the round.

the reclining calf, a lapis lazuli amulet from the queen's grave. The pose is very natural, the head turned back, with the folds of the neck finely indicated, the mouth open in bellowing, the nascent horns, the wide eyes with their folds of flesh, the tail tucked in below the hind leg, form a vivid picture of the young animal. This amulet hung on a string of big beads of lapis and agate on the shoulders of the queen, with others in the form of fishes and antelopes.

The bearded bison of Elam has become in Sumer a legendary animal. In one case his beard seems to be attached by a string which passes over the nose, like the false beard of Sumerian kings and gods. Finally he is given the human eyes and nose, the elaborate beard and locks of Gilgamesh, and becomes the man-headed bison.

The first gold amulet from the queen's grave represents a bearded bison, a real animal, like the stag, the ram, and the antelope, which form part of the same decoration. This was part of a royal headdress consisting of a fillet, apparently of thin leather, to which were stitched minute beads of gold and lapis covering the whole surface. Against that background were small rosettes, palm-ettes of thin twisted wire, branches of shrubs in gold, with gold and carnelian pods or fruits, branches of pomegranates (three fruits and three leaves) most naturalistically rendered, ears of corn, and four pairs of seated animals in gold. The bearded bison is one of them.

The other gold amulet is similar to the first, except for the string passing over the nose, which Mr. Woolley explains as follows: "The bull is represented as seated with its head turned to the front in the regular Sumerian convention. Tied under the animal's chin by a string which passes over its nose is an elaborately curled false beard. The subject is new and admits of only one interpretation. The bull is of course a regular symbol for the god, supports his throne, and is the victim preferred for his sacrifices. The beard is essentially the attribute of divinity. The animal destined for sacrifice can, by the addition of a beard, be transformed into the very god himself, the great bull of Heaven, who gives his flesh to his worshippers to eat in true communion. Such a rite actually performed in the temple with the living beast must be represented by the amulet. The workmanship of this tiny figure is admirable. The body of the bull is somewhat summarily rendered but upon the head no pains have been spared."

Is it not simpler to place this bull in the same category as Enkidu and the man-headed bison, than to hang the whole communion service on that beard and string? Many animals besides the bull were offered in sacrifice to the gods. The horns and not the beard are essentially an attribute of divinity.

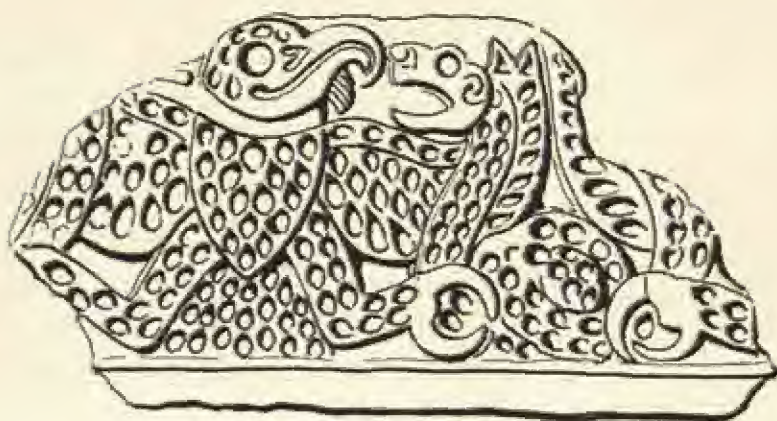
The crouching bull which decorates an alabaster lamp has not only the elaborate locks and beard of Gilgamesh, but a human face, eyes, forehead, and nose, combined with the body, horns, and ears of



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Heraldic figures, spread-eagle, two-headed eagle. Stone vase and engraved plaques.

the bull. Another step will further transform the strange being and by the addition of a human chest and arms will create the classical bull-man Enkidu. The three figures were familiar for centuries to the Sumerian seal cutters and engravers, but as heroes, minor characters, servants of the great gods, never to be compared with them. The bearded bison of Elam very soon took on a legendary character in Sumer, where it was unknown, and the tame cattle descending from the wild bull, *bos primigenius*, had no beard.

A very archaic design shows a lion-headed eagle on the back of a bearded bull with a human face, which the former attacks with beak and claws, one of the strangest motives of the old Sumerian picture gallery. The traditional group is seen, rather poorly engraved, on one of the shell plaques found in the disorder of the filling of the dagger grave. It must have been part of the decoration of a gaming board. The same group is known from a beautiful limestone relief from Al 'Ubaid, placed this time in a real Elamite landscape of hills and shrubs. The bird is turned the other way, grasping in its beak the hind quarters, not the shoulders, of the bull.

The lion-headed eagle.—The legendary figure has become heraldic. The well balanced composition is a perfect coat of arms. It was studied in the last MUSEUM JOURNAL and is reproduced here on a larger scale to afford a better view of its style and technique. The imperial bird has seized in its claws two leaping goats or ibexes. The side view of the claws is in the Elamite tradition. The ibexes are evidently mountain game. The lion's head *en face* belongs to the same Sumerian art as the Gilgamesh head in front view. Mythology combined lion and eagle in the same spirit which created flying dragons or man-headed bulls, legend transforming and combining naturalistic figures. The checkered feathers on body and wings represent an original made of inlaid pieces of coloured stones and shell. That legendary development of art is properly Sumerian.

The spread-eagle and the serpents.—A fragment of a pre-Sargonic vase in soapstone from Nippur, now in Constantinople, shows a real eagle one step nearer to the Elamite tradition. The bird's head is drawn in profile with a round eye and a strong curved beak, from which protrudes the point of the tongue. The serpent's head is drawn in the same realistic style, jaws opened, hissing, ready to bite. The claws of the bird are represented sidewise as in the previous coat of arms. The tail is spread wide, and the body is too short for the strong legs. But the whole design has strength and character.



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Goats and antelopes. Gold figures and engraved plaques.

The holes cut in the surface of the low relief were probably inlaid with mother of pearl.

Wild goats and antelopes.—These graceful species of horned animals are difficult to distinguish in the Sumerian drawings. It is easy enough to distinguish bulls and deer and to recognize goats when the artist was careful to trace their pointed beards. But in the absence of the beard, gazelles, antelopes, wild sheep, or ibexes may be intended, when there is no certainty of distinction between straight, curved, simple, double, or spiral horns, *en face* or in profile, smooth or rugose. Larger size may denote antelopes, but most of the rugose horns must belong to ibexes or wild mountain goats. On engraved plaques, the two horns are drawn separately.

The classical grouping of two rampant animals in a conventional landscape of shrubs and mountains is the same as that of two rampant bulls. It was drawn by the same artist to decorate the same harps and gaming boards. Other designs of much poorer workmanship represent the same ibexes clumsily moving among odd-looking shrubs. Gold amulets in the round made for the queen are little masterpieces of much finer art. The position of the couchant animal on the alert with head erect is well observed. And the grouping of two animals of the herd keeping close together for security is very natural and forms a happy motive.

Deer.—The Sumerian artist seems to know, or to draw, only the spotted or fallow deer with palmate antlers and less developed tines. Whether the red deer or maral of the Caspian provinces with the long bare antlers and numerous tines was known as real or only as legendary game is hard to say. The red deer is represented in the large copper relief of Al 'Ubaid, his antlers and tines hammered separately and soldered with lead in their socket. On engraved shell plaques the spots of the fallow deer are obvious. The graceful animal is moving or leaping through a thicket of leaves. No one with a sense for line and proportions can help admiring the strong, sure outline of the best examples and the lifelike movements of the body.

Two examples in the round, one in gold, a crouching figure from the queen's dress, and one in copper found at Kish, show the same mastery of characteristic form and life.

Tame animals.—A small selection of tame animals cut in pieces of shell for inlay and simply outlined in very low relief and also some gold and lapis amulets in the round prove the exquisite and truthful



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Fallow deer. Gold and copper figures in the round and engraved plaques.

sense of observation of the Sumerian artist. The lively and graceful attitude of the springing kid was caught from nature. The ewes, lambs, and rams are reclining with heads raised or turned, they are moving by or waiting to be milked. The examples were found in



Group of tame animals: kid, ewes, lamb, and ram.

Ur, Kish, and Lagash, where the same models were copied by the same generation of artists. The long locks of the ram's fleece are treated in a conventional style and comparison with the Sumerian petticoat suggests that the latter was primitively a fleece complete with the tail showing as a heavy knot behind.

The ass.—This most realistic piece of modelling is well known to JOURNAL readers. It is an electrum mascot surmounting the silver rein-ring of the queen's chariot. The identity of the species has been questioned. Does it represent a horse or a mule? This of course would suppose the horse to have been known at that early age in Mesopotamia. The hind quarters seem too round and powerful for a donkey. The appearance of the horse in Babylonia has hitherto been placed about 2000 B.C. It was imported from Mongolia across the highlands of Persia at the time of the invasions of Hyksos and Cassites, and was called the mountain ass. The charioteers on the inlay stela use teams of animals of the same type. Can they really be horses? So far as we can trust the artist's modelling, the beasts have well developed hind quarters, stronger than is normal in modern donkeys. We cannot judge of the shape of the hoofs. But the animals have also the long neck, drooping ears, and long tail which we scarcely expect to see in the Mongolian horse or Shetland pony. And why should not the royal team have the best donkeys in the land, the famous breed of Eridu? The argument derived from the notorious obstinacy of the donkey and the improbability that a team could be driven four in hand is humorous but not convincing.

The monkey.—The miniature figure of a monkey in gold was found with other amulets, a ram in lapis and a frog, and many beads forming various necklaces by the side of the body of King Meskaladug. It is mounted on a stem and formed the top of a long pin. The attitude of the squatting animal, with hands resting on knees, with keen eyes and erect ears, is well observed. The monkeys imported from the southeast, perhaps from India, must always have excited a humorous curiosity. Monkey dealers are represented in terra cotta figurines. They carry their pet animals on the shoulder or lead them on the leash. On seal cylinders the monkey with raised hands is a symbol of adoration. Monkeyish tricks must have been early credited as evidence of real intelligence. No wonder that an artist enjoyed sketching the queer little figure.

The frog.—Many frog amulets in clay, frit, lapis, or shell have been found in the excavations at Ur. They are essentially a symbol of water, marshland, and canals, always represented squatting on the ground, ready to jump. Miniature figures were cut in mother of pearl and hung with beads on a necklace.

Fishes.—The fish is the obvious emblem of running water. It is a staple food in South Babylonia. The carplike white fish of the



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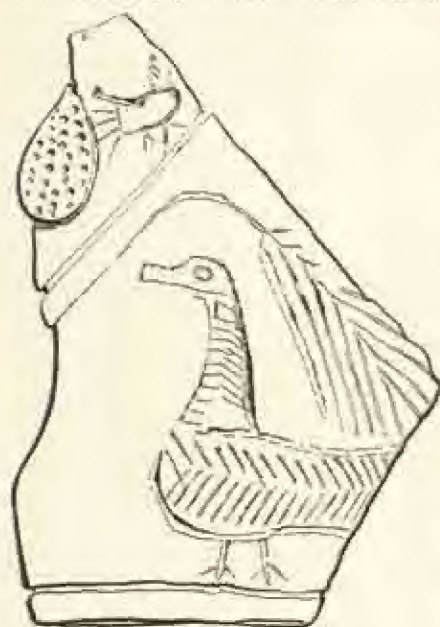
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Donkey, monkey, frog, fish, and birds. Mascots and amulets in gold and lapis.

Euphrates may grow to very large proportions. The hero Gilgamesh is sometimes represented carrying four or six of them, a good catch. Mythology knew a strange being, a fish-man, who came out of the sea in very ancient times to teach the rude inhabitants of Eridu the first elements of civilization. A goat-fish was the emblem of the god of Eridu, god of wisdom and of the deep abyss. But figures of priests dressed in fishskin are late and due mainly to Assyrian artists. The Sumerian artist was satisfied with little amulets in gold, lapis, or clay, representing real fishes.



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Water bird. Engraved stone vase.

Birds.—Water birds, ducks, geese, pelicans, are most common in Mesopotamia, especially in the southern marshland. Weights were cut in the form of ducks, swimming or resting on the water, with their heads turned and resting on their backs. The goddess Bau was in charge of that goose paradise. Ducks and geese surround her and form her throne and pedestal. But while the stone-carver was satisfied with ordinary water fowl, and lacked the keen eye of the Egyptian artist for animal forms, hair, and feathers, the jeweller at least could cast and chisel remarkable gold amulets representing other birds such as the

dove and the sparrow. The first is a gold bird with a lapis tail. The second is a little gold bird on a fruit. The amulet measures only $10\frac{1}{2}$ mm. and the bird $3\frac{1}{2}$ mm. The eyes and feathers are most faithfully worked. The character of the bird is wonderfully well caught.

Lastly, a fragment of a stone vase from Nippur has a figure of a goose, with aquatic fruits and plants, incised upon it. It is a rough sketch in outline, but not without character.

With a more intimate knowledge of the works, ideals, and technique of the old Sumerian artists, our sympathy and respect is sure to grow.

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2. Engraved shell plaque from a gaming board. From the royal tomb (C). MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1928, p. 21.
- 3 to 5. Idem.
6. Engraved shell plaque, U. 10577. Decoration below the copper bull's head. MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1928, pp. 23 and 26.
7. Engraved shell plaque below the golden calf's head, on harp of Queen Shub-ad. MUSEUM JOURNAL, Sept., 1928, pp. 236 and 239.
- 8-12. Gold lions' heads decorating the sides of the chariot of Queen Shub-ad. MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1928, pp. 15 and 16.
13. Silver panther's head. Same as above.
14. Gilgamesh and the two leopards. Engraved shell plaque. As 6.
15. Enkidu and the two leopards. Engraved shell plaque. As 7.
16. Loose engraved shell plaque, U. 9907.
17. Engraved shell plaque: bull and lion. As 7.
18. Rampant bulls. Engraved shell plaque. As 2.
19. Copper bull's head from the royal tomb, Pg. 789. MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1928, p. 26.
20. Silver bull's head from Queen Shub-ad's tomb. MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1928, p. 23.
21. Gold bull's head from the queen's chariot. As 8-12.
22. Reclining calf. Lapis amulet from Queen Shub-ad's tomb, U. 10946. MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1928, p. 26.
23. Bearded bison of gold. Ornament of Queen Shub-ad's second headdress. MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1928, p. 30.
24. Gold bull amulet, with a false beard tied by a string, U. 8269. Published in the *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. VIII, pl. IX, no. 1, and p. 22.
25. Man-headed bull on an alabaster lamp. MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1928, p. 31.
26. Walking bull. Engraved shell plaque found in the filling of the dagger grave. MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1928, pp. 6, 7.
27. Lion-headed eagle seizing ibexes. Engraved shell plaque. As 7.
28. Fragment of a pre-Sargonic stone vase. Nippur. CBS. 4930. Cast of an original in Constantinople. Eagle and snake. Low relief on soapstone probably inlaid with mother-of-pearl. Flat bottom and slanting sides. 212 x 215 mm.
29. Rampant ibexes. Engraved shell plaque. As 2-5.

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30. Rampant ibexes. Engraved shell plaque. As 6.
- 31, 32. Walking antelopes. Engraved shell plaque. As 26.
33. Reclining antelope. Gold amulet from the tomb of Queen Shub-ad. As 23. U. 10948.
34. Two reclining antelopes. Gold amulet, U. 10943. Beside the fastening on the right arm of Queen Shub-ad. MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1928, p. 26.
35. Fallow deer leaping. Engraved shell plaque, U. 8915. *The Antiquaries Journal*, vol. VIII, pl. viii. MUSEUM JOURNAL, June, 1927, p. 147.
36. Walking fallow deer. Engraved shell plaque. As 26.
37. Walking fallow deer. Engraved shell plaque, U. 9119 (or 9112?). *The Antiquaries Journal*, vol. VIII, pl. vi. MUSEUM JOURNAL, June, 1927, p. 148.
38. Copper figure in the round. *Kish*, pl. XXVIII, 2, and p. 98.
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50. Fish amulet of gold, U. 10944. From Queen Shub-ad's tomb. MUSEUM JOURNAL, March, 1928, p. 26.
51. Gold bird with a lapis tail, U. 9076. *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. VIII, pl. IX, no. 1, and p. 22.
52. Gold bird on fruit, U. 8005. As 51.
53. Fragment of stone vase from Nippur. Original missing. Known from a photograph, vol. IV, no. 210. Published in *Bäl-Tempel zu Nippur*, Abb. 51, p. 59, as "Zeichnung eines Tempelschülers," which is wrong.

All the drawings have been made by Miss M. Louise Baker.

TWINS IN UPPER GUINEA

By H. U. HALL

FOR the present purpose, Upper Guinea may be taken, roughly, to mean the southern part of the westward extension of the African continent between the Cameroons and Senegambia, a territory which is peopled mainly by tribes in which the negro strain is either as nearly as possible unmixed or is predominant. From this part of Africa numerous striking customs have been reported which reveal a strong interest on the part of these peoples in multiple births of children, especially, so far as the reports show, in the birth of twins.

The existence of an interest manifesting itself in special forms of behaviour towards twins in many parts of the world has strongly impressed not a few writers who have occupied themselves with the study of one phase or another of human conduct or history and attempts have been made to link up observances of the kind indicated in widely separated parts of the world in the effort to account for observed similarities, often superficial, on the ground either of highly improbable contacts or of a unilinear process of evolution exemplified in necessary stages of mental development supposed to have been passed through by all human groups in common. Diversities in the observances in question and in the mental attitudes from which they seem to have arisen even in so comparatively restricted an area as that of Upper Guinea do not lend much support to such generalizations—certainly not to the latter.

It is not easy to see how, among peoples at about the same cultural level, as the case is with many of these Guinea negroes, a contemporary custom such as that of killing twins because of their essential twinness could have evolved from that of gratefully accepting such births for the same reason, or vice versa. For these two opposed attitudes we can, it is true, discern an elementary common ground—common, it would seem, to all peoples who have left evidence of an emotional attitude towards twins—in what was, primarily, no doubt a but slightly differentiated instinctive feeling that twins are abnormal, therefore in some way portentous. But this feeling, once realized, seems to have given rise to two opposed lines of action leading each to customs necessarily diverse and existing

contemporaneously among peoples of substantially the same degree of culture.

Between the extremes of abhorrence of twin births, leading in many cases to twin murder, and the grateful reception of twins into the community, there is an attitude of toleration which may be partly or wholly due to the influence of these extremes on one another in territory which has been the field of clashes and accommodations. There is at any rate no reason to reject this as a possibility in a restricted area like that of West Africa or even with regard to Africa as a whole.

The existence of an originally largely undifferentiated feeling about the abnormality of twin births can be exemplified from instances of its survival both among tribes who bar twins and among those who welcome them. Of the former, the Jekri, a Yoruba people whose country lies south of Benin to the west of the Niger delta, hold, or held, that it is quite unnatural "to bear twins," while of the peoples of Southern Nigeria in general it has been said that "the main grievance"—among those who object to twins—"was that they were abnormal;" and among the Kafirs of South Africa it was believed that the birth of twins was "entirely out of the ordinary course of nature." The Baronga, near Delagoa Bay in Portuguese East Africa, for whom twins are children of heaven, have a special word *yila* to denote "derogations from the laws of physical nature" such as "the bringing of twins into the world." A similar feeling, expressed without the unfavourable bias that some of these forms of expression seem to imply, is deducible from utterances on this subject of others who favour twins.¹

A sort of rationalization of this feeling has occurred, broadly, in two directions, one rather naturalistic, the other supernaturalistic. Thus we are told that in Southern Nigeria the abhorrence of twins is "due apparently to the conception that one birth at a time is the distinguishing feature between man and all other creation;" in other words, that twin bearing is a beastly habit. In Northern Nigeria, "their mode of birth is non-human." In Dahomey, if the proper ceremonies are not performed, the twins will become monkeys again. Among the Ho of Togoland, the flesh of the hussar monkey

¹ R. K. Granville, F. N. Roth, H. Ling Roth, *Notes on the Jekris, Sobos, and Ifos*, in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society*, XXVIII (1898-1899), p. 107; P. A. Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, London, 1926, vol. III, p. 719; D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, London, 1906, p. 45; Junod, *Les Baronga*, quoted in *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, J. Rendel Harris, Cambridge, 1906, p. 7.



Wooden statuette representing a twin. Sierra Leone.

is taboo to twins and their parents, the children being known as "hussar monkey children". Of the Kafirs referred to in the last paragraph as holding the birth of twins to be "out of the ordinary course of nature" we are also told that they explain this by saying that bearing twins is like dogs or pigs, disgraceful.¹ In this view, then, it appears that, so far as twin-bearing is reprobated, it is the resemblance to the littering of animals that makes the event "unnatural" and shameful. The Dahomans and the Ho, related peoples, though they seem to have reached a similar interpretation of an unusual, if not abnormal, occurrence, do not disapprove of twins.

A transition from the more naturalistic explanation to one which appeals to supernatural considerations is seen, e. g., in the case of the monkeys which are made responsible in Dahomey and Togo and to which the twins appear to be in some kind of mystical relation. Having regard to the ideas of reincarnation which are prevalent in Guinea, Foa's statement that twins may become monkeys *again* gives a clue to what this relation may be—unless, as good evolutionists, we are to regard this as an instance of atavism! Some of the peoples who explain their dislike of twins on the ground that a twin-bearing faculty is natural to animals, *ergo* unnatural in human beings, impute the transference of this bestial quality to the intervention of spirits. The Southern Nigerian peoples who bar twins, according to Major Leonard, ascribe the "unnatural event . . . to the influence of malign spirits," and Foa's twins, who may revert to apishness, have, associated with them, a *génie persécuteur*, to avert whose influence requires a whole series of ritual precautions.

The intervention of spirits to bring about the birth of twins, the supernaturalistic explanation of twin births, is seen to be a natural outgrowth of the almost universal feeling that such births are abnormal, therefore portentous of good or evil, although it is not claimed that it is only in the way suggested that this process may have taken place. Any apparent irregularity in a situation so surrounded with an emotional atmosphere as child-bearing is, will in communities strongly governed by superstition almost inevitably be explained by reference to spirits malicious or benevolent, or who may be either according to circumstances conceived in a society where the categories of dualism in religion are not firmly established.

¹ A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, London, 1906, p. 458; C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, vol. II, pp. 77-78; E. Foa, *Le Dahomey*, p. 225; D. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, Berlin, 1906, pp. 204-206; Kildé, p. 45.

Spirits intervene in a large number of reported instances to cause the birth of twins, or are otherwise intimately associated with them, both (1) where twins are held in abhorrence and therefore destroyed, and (2) where they are welcomed and surrounded with precautions to insure the continuance of the favour of the spirit or god who has blessed parents and community with so prized a gift or who has taken the twins under his special care.

1. Among the Yoruba of Southern Nigeria it is believed that twins were in former times generally destroyed. Until recently one of the pair was thought to be non-human and was allowed to perish of neglect or exposure. Special precautions were taken to prevent the malicious spirit of the dead child from tormenting the survivor. Among the same people in Northern Nigeria, as in the case of the twin-killing tribes of Northern Nigeria in general, it is said that one, at least, of the twins is an evil spirit. Of Benin, which was governed by a Yoruban dynasty, it is said in a report which dates from the early 18th century that there the mother of twins and her infants were killed as a sacrifice to a "devil" who dwelt in a wood and who, presumably, was responsible for the mischief. The Ibo of Onitsha, on the lower Niger, believed that twins are a punishment inflicted by Anì, the Earth Spirit, for a crime committed by the mother. In Kratyi, Togoland, on the Ashanti border, it was believed that an evil spirit was concerned in the birth of twins. In the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast deformed children and, sometimes, twins are considered to be "devils" and to nullify their evil influence they should be destroyed. To return eastward to Nigeria, it is said that some of the tribes of the southern province regard twins as the offspring of a demon or as due to the "influence of malign spirits" and "the power of evil" or to possession of the yielding and hence offending parent "by some intruding and malignant demon." In Yorubaland, where there has apparently been a humane reformation in the attitude towards twins which is not entirely due, as it is among other twin-killers, to European, and therefore recent, influences, the child born next after twins has a special name which is explained by the comment "the devil after twins"; and the mother who fails to give birth to this *Idowu* may go mad—the "wild and stubborn Idowu" that has failed to get born "flying into her head."¹

¹ Talbot, III, pp. 722, 725; Meek, II, p. 78; D. Van Nyendael, Sept. 4, 1702, in *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, W. Bosman—English translation, London, 1705, pp. 445-446; H. Klose, *Religiöse Anschauungen und Menschenopfer in Togo, Gabun*, LXXXI (1902), p. 190; A. W. Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*, London, without date (recent), p. 27; Leonard, p. 438; S. Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas*, London, 1921, p. 81.

Probably this "devil" was in possession before, or at the time when, the mother conceived twins, was the cause of this conception, and comes to birth himself only when he has fulfilled his mischievous mission or, frustrated of his proposed incarnation, punishes the unfortunate vehicle of his malice with madness.

Passing beyond Upper Guinea, as in the cases of the Baronga and the Kafir above, for purposes of comparison and by way of illustrating the wide extension of similar beliefs and practices about twins in Africa, we find that the Bakongo of the old kingdom of Kongo, south of the river of that name, are warned on the occasion of the birth of twins not to go abroad that day for wood or water lest they should meet the spirits of the waters and forests, who would thus seem to have a connection with such births. According to Weeks, it was customary to allow one of the twins to die of starvation. Father Van Wing, to whom we are indebted for the information about their spirit connections, apparently does not know of this custom. His account deals chiefly with a remote group of this people, in the northeastern part of Bakongo country.¹

2. The tribes of Northern Nigeria which welcome twins say that their birth is due to the direct intervention of well-disposed spirits. In Edo (the kingdom proper of Benin) in Southern Nigeria, the coming of twins is explained as follows: Osa, the supreme god, allots to a man so many children; if one dies, it is born again. *Ehi*, the primary soul of an individual, leads a child into the world; it is in Elini, the place of souls, until it comes into the world. If two *ehi* play with one another in Elini, one *ehi* follows the other into the world and twins are born.² In addition, then, to the intervention of a god in the production of twins, an origin which they share in this case with other children, we have here a rare account of the prenatal condition of twins. Another such, differing in detail and containing a character who bears a quaint illusory resemblance to a Rhadamanthus assigning prenatal instead of post-mortem destinies, I have lately heard from a Sobo (Uzhobo) now living in Philadelphia. The Sobo are neighbours of the Edo or Bini people. My informant is the nephew of the chief of Ovu. His name is Mosalo (anglicé Moses), and I relate here his story with such reserve as is due to the fact that no other source of information is available for purposes of corrobora-

¹ *Études Bakongo*, Brussels, without date, p. 238; J. H. Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, Philadelphia, 1914, p. 116.

² Meek, II, pp. 76-79. N. W. Thomas, *Mon*, 1919, No. 87.

tion. Mosalo says that in his part of the Sobo country twins are believed to be a gift from the god Egyu, to whom a sacrifice is offered on the occasion of the birth of twins. There is another god, Uzholu, who assigns to each person his destiny before he comes into the world from some such limbo, presumably, as the Elimi of the Bini. Two infants conceived in one womb and begotten by one father come into the world as twins by virtue of their own decision ratified by Uzholu. This decision, having been made in answer to the question put by Uzholu to each person before he is born as to what he wishes to be or to become in the world, must be rigorously kept to after birth and the behaviour observed by and towards twins among the Sobo of Ovu is part of the unchangeable lot of those who decide before Uzholu to be born into the world as inseparable companions.

The connection of twins with monkeys which has been recorded for Togo and Dahomey obtains also in the neighbouring coastal region of Yorubaland, between Lagos and Badagry. Here there is a temple to Ibeji, which is the goal of pilgrimages made by twins and their parents. This Ibeji, whose name means "twins", is said by Ellis to be "the tutelary deity of twins" and to correspond to a similar deity of the Ewe-speaking tribes of Togo and Dahomey—the same people who, we have seen, attribute a mystical relationship to twins and monkeys. A small black monkey is sacred to Ibeji, offerings of fruit are made to it, and its flesh is taboo to twins and their parents. Whether Ibeji is actually responsible for the bringing of twins into the world or not, is not clear, but it seems probable. We are evidently here concerned with a set of beliefs relating to twins which are common to the Ewe-speaking peoples, including the Ho of Togo, and the Yorubans, at least those of the southwestern part of Yorubaland. At Popo, on the Dahomey-Togo border, and at Porto Novo in Dahomey, near the Yoruba frontier, the gods of twins are known respectively as Ahofo and Igbeji. The latter word is evidently the Yoruba Ibeji. Ellis gives the form Hoho for the Ewe god whom Foa calls Ohovi. This on the face of it seems to be a reduplication of the name, Ho, of some groups of the Togo Ewe; and appropriately enough, on a superficial view, whether in this respect or in that of a physically formal connection with a duplex phenomenon, the Popo deity is said to be represented by a man and a woman sitting side by side.¹

¹ A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples*, pp. 80, 81; Talbot, III, p. 723; Foa, p. 223.

Of the Yoruba in general it is said that certain children who receive special names on account of peculiar circumstances attending their birth are sent from heaven. Twins are among the number. The Gouro of Bouaflé in the French colony of Ivory Coast sacrifice to a tutelar of twins, who is, however, also said to be "patron of children" in general. The Bambara of the French Sudan consider that twins are sent as a special blessing from the supreme god, the creator. The Habbé of the central Nigerian Plateau sacrifice to Amma or Ammo (Amba), their god of the sky, in gratitude for having sent them the special blessing of twins. The Baronga in South Africa, to whom reference has already been made, call twins "children of the sky" god—a circumstance of which much has been made in the attempt to connect negro customs relating to twins with "Heavenly Twins" in Greece, India, and every other part of the world from which the most remotely similar observances have been reported. It is not so far a cry to British East Africa, where, in the Mount Elgon district, the belief of the Bagesu in the intervention of the gods is evidenced in their conviction that the anger of the gods was directed against that one of the parents of twins whose sex was not represented in a pair of twins of whom both were male or both female. According to the Baganda, not far to the west, "it was from Mukasa"—chief among their gods—"that the great blessing of twins came; he was said to show his esteem for certain women in this manner."¹

A number of the most striking and characteristic examples of the negroes' ways of explaining the production of twins naturalistically and also from the supernatural point of view having now been given, it remains to notice three less common modes of explanation. One of these, though in a measure naturalistic, rather begs the question if taken by itself and in fact appears to be given by way of supplementing that explanation which rests on the concurrence of spirits. The bearing of twins, say those tribes of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast who consider twins unlucky, is a hereditary failing. With this opinion may be compared that of the Kafirs who have the same prejudice, and who believe that through close contact with twins men may communicate the twin-bearing tendency to their wives. So they refuse to sit long with a twin or to eat with one.²

¹ Johnson, p. 80; Neveu, in *L'Ethnographie*, June, 1923, p. 137; J. Henry, *Les Bambara*, Münster, 1910, pp. 96-98; L. Desplagnon, *Le Plateau Central Nigérien*, Paris, 1907, p. 233; Jurnel in Harris, p. 18, pp. 26-27; J. Roscoe, *The Bagesu*, Cambridge, 1924, p. 26; J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, pp. 290, 299.

² Cardinall, p. 74; Kidd, pp. 48-49.

This leads to the second of these three forms of explanation. It appears to be founded on a belief in magical agencies, which often work through contagion. It is even likely that such a belief may be at the bottom of the practice of killing twins and killing or banishing the mother, "lest contact with the defiled might cause some other woman to bring forth twins."¹ Among American negroes there is a belief that eating twin apples or any other kind of twin fruit will cause a woman to bear twins, an idea which is perhaps derived from the Ibos of Upper Guinea. Leonard's notion of defilement, uncleanness of the mother, etc., is probably in fact equivalent to the idea of the contagious nature of twinness, this curse brought on a community through the malignity of an ill-disposed spirit power. For the same reason, no doubt, some of the Ibo and some other populations in the neighbourhood of the Niger Delta are enjoined to throw away or destroy food or other property which happens to be in the house or even sometimes in the quarter of the village where twins are born. The house itself is sometimes destroyed. Property may be confiscated by the priest of Earth and, at least in one reported case, ransomed from him. A similar case of ransom of property by the parents of twins from the officiant at ceremonies connected with the birth of twins has been reported from the Ewe-speaking Ho of Togo, who welcome twins with elaborate celebrations. That twins can be produced through the voluntary exercise of magical powers by a human being is the belief of some of the inhabitants of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, who say that a certain "medicine" placed on a stone in the field where a woman goes to work will cause her to bear twins if she sits on the stone.²

We have seen that among the Ibo of Onitsha the Earth visited the punishment of twin-bearing on a mother guilty of crime. One of the crimes specified in this connection was adultery; and we find several other instances of adultery being considered responsible for multiple births. At Benin, the late Iyashere, or senior war-chief, an important court official who customarily married the king's sister, was presented by his wife with six children at one birth. "It was thought that their birth was due to her having possessed many lovers." Of Benin also, O. Dapper, a seventeenth century Dutch writer, says: "Many people are surprised at not seeing any twins in

¹ Leonard, pp. 460-461.

² N. N. Puckett, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*, Oxford University Press, 1926, p. 332; Leonard, p. 461; Talbot, III, pp. 724-726; Spieth, pp. 202-206.

this country. This is because a woman's honour is lost when, at Benin as well as at Ardra (Ardra, Alada in Dahomey), she is delivered of two children at one birth." This is from a French translation published in 1686. The corresponding passage in an English translation made for H. Ling Roth (*Great Benin*, p. 35) from the Dutch original of 1668 makes no mention of Dahomey, and the concluding words are: "They firmly believe that one man cannot be the father of two children at the same time." The Yoruba of Northern Nigeria and certain other tribes of the same region who do not welcome twins, besides accounting for their attitude towards such births by the belief that one of the twins "must be an evil spirit," also sometimes declare that twin-bearing is the result of adultery. Presumably the fault of the mother is the opportunity of the intrusive spirit: The Jekri, Sobo, and Ibo of Warri district, south of Benin, according to one report, believe that, if a woman has twins, she must have been unfaithful or committed some other crime. The Sobo and Ibo customs affecting twins are not uniform. In some localities in the territory of both peoples twins are tolerated; by the Sobo of Ovu, according to Mosalo, they are even gratefully welcomed.¹

It appears, then, from the preceding necessarily abridged and incomplete survey of beliefs and customs relating to twins that two contrasted and incompatible attitudes towards twins exist in Upper Guinea. These probably correspond, broadly, to two different cultures which by the movement of populations have been brought into contact. The more conservative groups holding either view concerning twins, or those between which the contacts have been less close, have, until the quite recent effective control by Europeans of the territory, retained their respective practices connected with twin bearing, while in some cases there has been a considerable modification of the views and practices in question through closer contacts of the populations holding contradictory beliefs. The humaner attitude towards twins and their mothers is more generally held the further west we proceed from the focus of practices involving the murder of twins and the death or banishment of their mothers and it is these western regions which have been most affected by southward movements of populations from the northwestern regions of the Sudan. It is probable that twin murder is older in the southward

¹ Talbot, III, p. 723, p. 724; O. Dapper, p. 309 of French translation (1686) of *Nauwkeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaansche Gewesten*, Amsterdam, 1668; Meek, II, p. 75; *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXVIII (1898-1899), p. 107. For Ardra, see also Dapper (French translation), p. 305.

and coastal regions of Upper Guinea than the practices which cluster about the belief that twins are a benefit bestowed on man by well-disposed spiritual powers, and that these practices are intrusive from the north. Probably a more extended study of the customs connected with twins in the vast Congo region and in the south and east would strengthen the impression that emerges from what we already know about these parts of Africa, namely, that the similarities in twin-practices between certain Nigerian negroes and the Bantu would throw some light on the question of the place of origin of Bantu speech and the movements which have spread it across central and southern Africa. The situation in West Africa is peculiarly interesting and suggestive. Bantu speech reaches as far north as the Cameroons, the eastward border of the region here chiefly dealt with. Proceeding westward we come to a district inhabited by peoples speaking languages usually classed as semi-Bantu and then pass into the country near the Niger where begins the territory of the languages called Sudanese. It is among the more easterly of the populations speaking the latter languages that the practices involving twin murder appear to be most inveterate and deep-rooted—so far as western Africa is concerned. As to their eastern neighbours—the semi-Bantu speakers—we have, unfortunately, little information on the point in question. But so far as we are informed about the Bantu speakers, west, south, and east, twin killing appears to have remained one of the characteristic features of their culture. A notable exception is the Baganda, who are a mixed people ruled by northern negroids, who, like the most westerly Sudanese, do not practice twin murder.

The three wooden statuettes which are pictured here on pages 405, 415, and 423 are memorial figures made each for the deceased member of a pair of twins. This custom is widely observed among the Timne, who are represented by these figurines, as well as among other groups in Sierra Leone.

As usual in the more westerly parts of Upper Guinea, twins are welcomed in Sierra Leone. Presumably because of their relation to supernatural powers they themselves and those closely connected with them are subjected to various taboos and precautionary ceremonies destined no doubt to ensure the continuance of the favour of those powers which have bestowed the initial blessing as well as to avert the dangers commonly entailed on those who enter the circle of mysterious influences which surround those who have attracted for good or ill the attention of the gods.

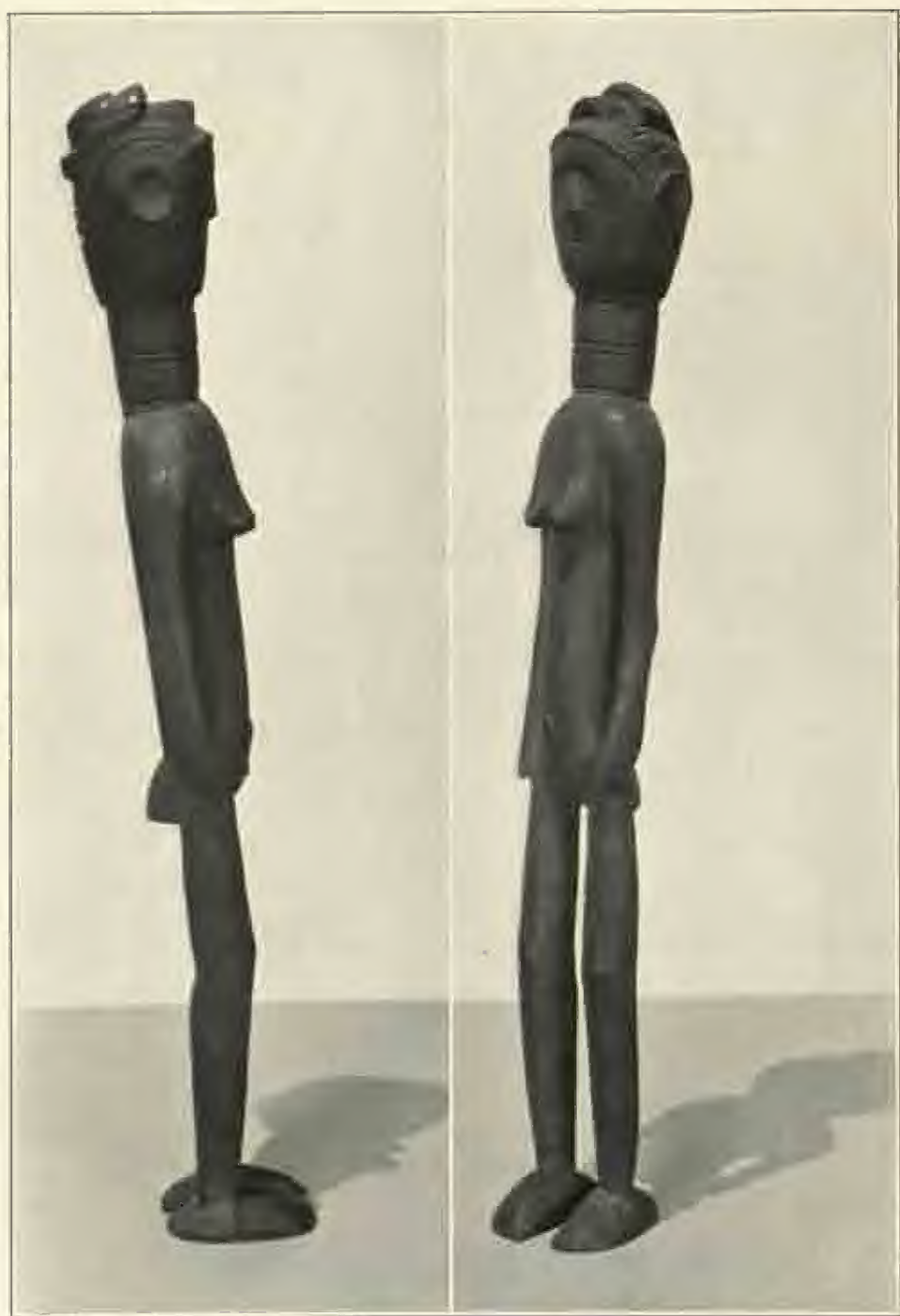
It is in this case, so far as our information goes, the father who is most in the eye of the gods, at least in the beginning. However that may be, we are told that in Magbile (Mabile) on the Seli River which crosses the heart of the Timne country east of Freetown, when twins are born outside the town their father's hands must be tied for an hour. If not, the twins will not be "glad" and their parent will not get much money. When the infants are carried into the town in the ceremony which takes place soon after their birth, one of his hands will be tied again and not loosed until other twins selected for the purpose have finished building the "twin-house" which is erected on each occasion of the birth of twins. When the twins are carried round the town the father is "tied with cloth." He gives his gown away. More naturally, it is the father who must provide whatever is necessary for this ceremony: white beads, cowries, palm oil, a fowl, cotton shirting. Beads are placed about the neck of the twins. To dream of a person wearing white beads foretells the death of a twin.

The twins are placed on a fan and taken round the town while the relatives of both parents dance round the town. On this occasion a kind of fungus that grows on anthills is mixed with the palm oil which the father has brought and the mixture is eaten by him and the mother of the twins.

Twins receive special names. Two boys are called Bali and Sine or Sana. Sometimes one is called Keru. Girls are named Seno or Suni and Sento. The child born next after twins also has a special name 'Bèsè. For this child also the ceremonies proper for twins are performed. If all the rites are not duly performed the father or the mother will go mad. Certain "twin songs", e. g., one commencing with an apostrophe to the twin called Bali—"Hail, Bali, hail!"—must be sung.

Twins are not allowed to eat snails or the flesh of the iguana. Violation of these taboos will cause respectively crawleraw, a skin disease, and deafness. Neither must they eat the fruit of a certain tree which is used in making the fence of the twin-house.

If one of the twin children dies, the survivor receives a wooden image which represents his deceased companion and playfellow. This image is called by a name which means "twin". The three figures on pages 405, 415, and 423 are such substitutes or memorials for twins. If this figure is kept near the mother's sleeping-place, the child which has survived will not fall ill. According to one account bread is rubbed on the image when the first of the pair dies.



Two views of a twin-figure. Sierra Leone.

This implies that the image was made while both were alive and kept for the contingency of their separation by death. If a twin is ailing, a member of another pair gets some leaves and puts them in the twin-house. These leaves squeezed in water are used for divination of the issue of the illness. If the water is dropped on to the face of the child and runs to its nose, it will recover. When a twin dies, the survivor is washed with *mafoi*, a concoction of leaves which is supposed to avert or expel evil.

The twin-house mentioned several times above seems to be a form of the *attatol*, a word which is, apparently, applied to the miniature hut which houses charms or medicine; to a sort of woman's secret society, membership in which is either acquired or hereditary and which is concerned with promoting the fertility of members by means of the medicine in question; and to the *krifi* or tutelary spirit of the society. The twin-house is put up on the right of the verandah of the parents' dwelling soon after the birth of twins. On the fence of this miniature house are hung the rattles made of calabashes which are shaken when twins are born. Within the fence are ant-heaps covered with white cloth. These represent the *krifi*. The house contains potsherds, pieces of tobacco, etc. These are "twin-money". When the twins have been weaned, they are taken by certain women—members of the society?—to the twin-house where offerings are made consisting of rice, palm oil, etc., and cowries are used for divination. Here the women and the twins eat, the twins being given whatever food they show a preference for.

When a twin who is the first born child of its mother dies, it is buried in ashes like other children, while one who is not is buried in the twin-house, if the body is small enough. Rice is offered in the twin-house, a dance is performed like that which takes place at the birth of twins, and *mafoi* is rubbed on the dancers.

The account of the Timne from which these details are taken says little about the powers ascribed to twins, except what is implied in the connection, itself not clear, between the *attatol* and the twin-houses. If this connection exists, it appears that they have an influence, as of a symbolism made effective in fact, on the promotion of child-bearing. Apart from this, they have, so far as this account shows, only the power of taking vengeance by means not explicable on natural grounds for a personal injury. Twins should not be struck on the head. If one is so struck, by anyone not himself a twin, the offender is visited at night by the injured twin, who

turns the former's face towards him as if to look in his direction. In the morning the offender will have a wry neck.¹

Among the neighbouring Mendi, the twin-medicine is contained in a pair of miniature huts symbolizing twinness, one being slightly larger than the other to represent the elder of a pair of twins. The operation of the medicine is in the hands of a society, known as the Sabo, among the members of which only those who are twins are able to perform the necessary ceremonies. This is a similar condition to that which obtains with regard to the single twin-houses of the Timne and, if the attribution of a connection with these to the *attatol* is well founded, the activities of the twin officials are there also part of the functions of a secret society which is joined by those who wish to share in its benefits. In the case of the Mendi Sabo these include, apparently, good health and fertility for women, and the curing of the ailments of twins.²

It is clear that there is here a belief in the power of twins to promote the fertility of women. The rise of such a superstition is quite natural from the circumstances of the case, and in view of what has happened in the case of other superstitions growing out of the observed—if wrongly interpreted—phenomena of child-getting, it would be natural also if twins should be credited with being powerful to influence fertility in the production of crops. Yet there is little evidence of the existence of such a belief in Africa. There are, of course, the Baronga, on whom the learned author of *The Heavenly Twins* largely relied to strengthen the case for a universal belief in the connection between twins and the earth's increase. These people attribute to twins or their mother an influence on the production of the fertilizing rain.³ A connection between twins and the rain might be, quite doubtfully, inferred from the Bakongo belief cited above that anyone who went abroad on the day of the birth of twins would meet the spirit of the waters. Similar instances are few, and instances of superstitions which seem to proceed from a contrary belief are not lacking in the not very long list of the powers directly attributed to, or implied to be possessed by, twins and their parents.

In Sierra Leone, where twins are esteemed, and where, as we have seen, their powers appear to be directed to the promotion of

¹ N. W. Thomas, *The Timne-Speaking Peoples*, London, 1916, I, pp. 18, 88, 112-114.

² T. J. Aldridge, *The Sherbro and its Hinterland*, London, 1901, pp. 149-152.

³ Junod, *loc. cit.*

human fertility, we are told of the Koranko, neighbours of the Timne, that they believe that twins "have spirits behind them", who are apparently inimical to the crops. They say that twins must not accompany people who are going to the fields to reap or thresh the rice. The reapers cut one sheaf and place it in the path leading to the village. A twin takes this and says to the spirits: "I have taken ours; those who are behind me, don't take from the farm." Then the crop is safe. This is in a region where twins are favoured, and it is not the only instance of a belief that twin-bearing or twins have a harmful influence on the food supply, where twins are welcomed. The Masai and some other related peoples, i. e., eastern non-Bantu, who, as well as other negroids and negroes on the northern border of the Bantu-speakers in the east, consider twins lucky, will not allow a woman who has borne twins to go near the kraal where the cattle are kept. The reason for this precaution is no doubt the same as that which causes the Wawanga of Elgon district to forbid the mother of twins to look at a cow when it is in calf; its milk, they say, would dry up if she did. The Wawanga also hang a certain charm about the neck of a cow which is in calf when twins have been born in a village. The charm is removed when the calf has been weaned. They also take special measures to avert evil from the crops before they will allow a woman who has borne twins to take part in sowing or reaping.¹

To return to the West. The Bassari of Togoland, who kill one of a pair of twins at birth, also credit a twin-bearing woman with the power to blast the crops. Such a woman must not take part in planting or harvest until she has borne another child.²

But the powers attributed to twins, even where they are regarded with suspicion, or actual dislike, are not always powers which make only for evil. In the South, among the Kafirs, where twins appear to have a connection with the powers that send the rain, it is said that people who want rain go to a twin and ask him if he feels well today; if he confesses to feeling a certain uneasy restlessness, the rain will come. Kafir twins are songmakers, receiving inspiration from a waterfall, to which they repair, accompanied by an attendant, to listen to its song. They are consulted to settle quarrels. Fore-

¹ Thomas, *The Timne-Speaking Peoples*, I, p. 39; Sir H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, pp. 878-879; K. R. Dundas, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XLIII (1913), pp. 32-33.

² H. Kloss, *Religiöse Anschauungen und Menschenopfer in Togo*, *Globus*, LXXXI (1902), pp. 190-191.

telling not only rain, they predict, practically, also the course of epidemics: if infectious sickness attacks first a twin in the community it will spread; if the twins escape, the epidemic will not be serious. They are wild and fearless, and were formerly placed in the forefront of a battle to ensure success when the people went to war. By Castor and Pollux! Moreover, no doubt in conformity with good "Heavenly Twin" doctrine, the Balung, a Bantu-speaking people of Guinea, send their "doctors" with a pair of infant twins into the fight, when they wish it to be stopped. For here twins are said to be a blessing from Diaw, which is, according to Talbot, a name for the series of rites by which Obasse, the sky-god, is worshipped;¹ and no great change beyond the addition of an -s is necessary to convert Diaw, the group-name which appears in some cases to be personified, into Dyans, the equivalent in ancient India of Zeus, the sky-god of the Greeks and the father of one, at any rate, of the Spartan heavenly twins! This, however, is by the way.

The Bambara of the French Sudan regard twins as a benediction from their high god, the creator. They have a special twin fetish which resides in something resembling a sand-box (or hour-glass?—*sablier*) composed of two plaques of woven grass, between which is suspended a piece of iron or of wood with a bit of navel string wound about it. This is said to protect the mother of twins and to have the effect of uniting the latter in peculiarly close affection. It also endows the twins with immunity from the effects of bites of scorpions. The scorpion is their servant and they may send it to wreak a grudge on an enemy. The Igara of Northern Nigeria, who are said to be sprung from the Yoruba, believe that twins, while they are still young, can foretell the sex of an unborn child. By the Yoruba, according to S. Johnson, who was himself one of that people, twins "are almost credited with extra-human powers." Johnson, however, does not specify these powers. The Hausa of Northern Nigeria are said to regard twins "with a religious awe." They say that twins can handle snakes and scorpions without receiving injury, and can stop the boiling of a kettle by the mere exercise of will. In one respect these powers resemble those attributed to twins by the Igara, who are in contact with the Hausa and who attribute to twins immunity from poisons in general.²

¹ Kihl, pp. 46-48; Talbot, III, pp. 729-740; II, pp. 69-70.

² J. Henry, *Les Bambara*, Münster i. W., 1910, pp. 96-98; Meek, II, p. 79; Leonard, pp. 462-463.

The Bantu Bakongo of the Lower Congo, to whom reference has already been made in another connection, have, like many other African peoples, special names for twins. Regardless of their sex, the first born of twins is called Nsimba and the younger Nzuzi or Nzuzi. Nsimba is said to have special power for dealing with spirits and Nzuzi for dealing with affairs of law.¹

So much for the powers more or less implicitly ascribed to twins. There is, of course, also, the baleful contagion ascribed to twinness which seems to underlie twin murder and the murder or banishment of the unfortunate woman whom the bearing of twins stamps as a carrier of the dreaded infection; and the mysterious influence which resides in twinness, doubleness, is not, as we have seen, confined to the animal kingdom. Reference has been made to the belief of American negroes in the power of twin fruit to cause twin-bearing in women; the Kafirs assert that to receive two articles, not in succession but both together, from a twin will cause twins to be born in the family of the recipient. Animals, however, are probably more commonly the vehicles of this power. The same people say that eating mice caught in couples or eating certain portions of the kidneys, a twin organ, will have the same result.²

The making of a figure to commemorate, or to house the spirit of, a deceased twin is not by any means confined to the Timne. The custom is followed by other peoples in Sierra Leone, and by various other tribes in Africa, not only in the West and, strangely enough, not only by people who cherish twins. Among the Limba of Sierra Leone a "doll" is carved when one twin dies, and it is kept near the survivor and rubbed with palm oil and salt if the child is ill. A girl twin who has had such a "doll" made for her on the death of the other member of the pair keeps it when she is grown up and rubs it with oil when she bears a child. A fowl is killed and offered to the image on the day when the surviving child is weaned. Similarly with the Loko, an image is given to the survivor when one of the twins dies in infancy and rice is offered to it for the deceased whom it represents. Of the Bambara in the French Sudan we are told that if one twin dies in childhood, the survivor receives an image which he preserves with great care and which is named after the deceased. He dresses it and decks it with trinkets. If a present is made to him it is usual to add five cowries for the image.³

¹ Van Wing, pp. 258-259; Weeks, p. 116.

² Kidd, pp. 48-49.

³ Thomas, *Timne*, pp. 112, 130; Henry, pp. 96-98.

The northern Yoruba starve or poison the second of a pair of twins, and cause an image to be made to represent the dead child, so that the survivor may not feel lonely. This is the explanation offered to Meek and it may legitimately be supplemented by those given to Ellis, Talbot, and Thomas for the corresponding custom among the Yoruba of Southern Nigeria. Ellis says that "when one of the twins dies, the mother carries with the surviving child, to keep it from pining for its lost comrade and also to give the spirit of the deceased child something to enter without disturbing the living child, a small wooden figure, seven or eight inches long, roughly fashioned in human shape. . . . Such figures are nude, as an infant would be, with beads around the waist." According to Talbot, one of the pair was thought to be non-human, and, until recently, was allowed to perish of neglect or exposure. Sometimes, if one died [*sic*], his spirit was believed to torment the survivor, and so a small wooden representation of the deceased was made, to harbour its spirit, and food and drink were offered to it. Meek's statement that it is the "second" of the twins whose place is taken by an image is both supported and further explained in Thomas's statement. The twin first born is considered the younger: he emerges first because he is sent out by his senior "to see the world." The latter is probably Meek's "second" twin. He is considered *first* in age and the apparent anomaly which gives the greater importance to a younger twin by causing him to be commemorated with an image is paradoxically explained by Thomas's statement that it is this second, and senior, twin, who, dying, has an image made for him. The reason given was that if this was not done the mother would bear no more children.¹

It seems likely that at a somewhat remote period twin murder was general among the Yorubans and that the custom was modified—indeed it was in most parts abandoned—possibly as the result of a spontaneous interior reaction against its brutality, no doubt also (or entirely) through the influence of northern invaders who held humaner views of the proper way to treat twins. The Yorubans were quite early subject to pressure from Islamized negroes, and the population has for a long time included a large number of Mohammedans. It must be admitted, though, that this suggested explanation is not altogether satisfactory, unless there is some way of accounting for the fact that it is the northern Yorubas who still persist in killing,

¹ Meek, II, p. 78; Ellis, *Yoruba*, p. 80; Talbot, III, p. 722; Thomas, *Man*, 1921, No. 85.

or allowing to perish, one of the twins, while it seems on the face of it that it is they who might be supposed to have undergone the strongest alien pressure. At any rate it seems that some such reason, not necessarily including a Mohammedan factor, must lie behind the peculiar distribution of contradictory twin customs on the western border of the twin killers near the lower Niger, where we find twin killers cheek by jowl with, sometimes even in the same racial or linguistic group surrounded by, those who welcome and cherish twins.

In Dahomey, if both the twins die a pair of figures is made. These are dressed and decked with flowers and offerings of whatever is supposed to please them most are placed in a corner which is assigned to them in the dwelling. A palm oil lamp is kept burning before the figures. If the people to whom Miss Kingsley refers as the Tschwi are, as I suppose they are, the Tshi of the Gold Coast, they have in general customs very similar to those of the Dahomans. The Tschwi, Miss Kingsley says, make an image of a child's dead twin and keep it near the survivor as a habitation for the soul of the deceased, so that it may not be forced to wander about and, feeling lonely, call its companion after it.

Weeks's Bakongo, who starve one of a pair of twins, keep beside the survivor "a piece of wood roughly carved to represent a child," so that the real child may not feel lonely. If this child also dies the image is buried with it. Of his (northeastern) Bakongo, Father Van Wing says: "In the case of the decease at an early age of one of the twins, its measure is taken on a stick. This stick is laid beside the survivor. When the latter is washed, the mother washes also this stick, which is looked upon by her as the brother [of the deceased]. If the survivor grows to maturity, only then is the stick-brother abandoned and hung up in the roof of the hut."¹

A very curious variety of this practice is reported from East Africa. Among the Busoga of the country near the Victoria source of the Nile the rule is that twins must not be moved from the spot where they were born nor the navel strings cut until a special medicine man has been summoned and arrives to give permission for the operation. The portion of the cord which is left attached to the infant after a time dries up and falls off. When this happens, the string of each child is wrapped in bark cloth and shaped like a doll. When the child is nursed, this crude image is held to the mother's

¹ Foa, p. 223; M. H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, London, 1904, p. 324; Weeks, p. 116; Van Wing, p. 259.



Wooden statuette representing a twin. Sierra Leone.

breast as if it too were being suckled. The cords are preserved by the mother after the children are weaned.¹ In the absence of any native explanation of this custom, which differs from the others described in having no apparent connection with the death of the twins, it is difficult to relate it to these others. The Dahomans, we saw, make two figures also, but only to replace dead twins. The Bambara twin fetish described on page 419 contains a bit of navel string and is connected with the living twins, for the head of the family sacrifices to it as long as the twins live. But the Bambara make also an image to represent a *dead* twin, and we are not told of any relation between this and the navel string of either the dead or the living child.

In the account of Timne twins we saw that they have special names given them. Special names for twins are common in Upper Guinea, occur also in Lower Guinea (e. g., Bakongo), and are found again in the East. One of the Timne names for a boy twin, Sine, occurs again among the Bambara in the form Sinna; another, Bali, turns up again among the Yergum of Northern Nigeria, where twin boys are called Tali and Bali. Yoruba, Ewe, Bakongo, and in the East, Basabei, Busoga, Nandi, and Teso all have special twin names. The Yoruba nomenclature connected with twins is elaborate and extends even to the three children who are born successively after twins. The first born of a pair of twins is called Taiye-wo (Taiwo), "see the world". This case has been referred to already in speaking of the arbitrary and paradoxical mode of assigning seniority as between twins. Taiwo is considered the junior, Koindi, "come behind", the senior. The child born next after twins we have already heard of also as causing trouble if he does not succeed in getting himself born. He is Idowu, and the same name is given to no. 3 among triplets. The next is called Alaba; he is the servant of Idowu. If another follows he is named Idogbe. He watches the house when others come and is held very precious. These are the names as given by Thomas. Johnson, himself a Yoruba, uses the form Taiwo for the first born and interprets the name as a contraction of To-aiye-wo, "have the first taste of the world". For Koindi he gives the form Kahinde, "he who lags behind". The child following Idowu he says is called Idogbe, if it is a boy, and Alaba, if a girl. The proper attribution of these last two names is thus in doubt, unless we give the preference to Johnson's version, as to that of a native.

¹ Remcoe, *The Bugasi*, p. 122.

He differs also from Thomas in regard to Idowu as the name for the third member of triplets. This he says is Eta Oko. Ellis gives yet another twin name. The monkey, he says, which among the Yoruba is sacred to the twin god Ibeji and tabooed to twins and their parents, is called *Edon dudu* or *Edun oriokun*, and one of the twins is usually called after it, Edon or Edun. Perhaps these discrepancies really correspond to local variations in custom. At Sabongida in Edo (Benin), where we know Yoruba influence is strong, the elder twin is called Odion, which looks very much like Edon, and the younger Omo (Thomas).¹

A feature which emerges very clearly from a consideration of many accounts of the treatment of twins in Africa is the conception of a kind of mystic unity in duality which the twins represent. It is probably a feature which corresponds to an early result of primitive emotional thinking about this type of abnormal births. Even among peoples who have contrived the plan of destroying twinness by killing or allowing to perish one of the pair, we find paradoxically enough a symbolical restoration or preservation of that very quality by the device of the artificial twin-figure which must be treated in the same manner as the actual living twin. It is as if they realized that this dual unity cannot be destroyed and being inherent in the survivor must continue to be represented objectively, if only by a symbol, to every one concerned, including the spirit of the deceased who will be injured and moved to retaliation otherwise.

The insistence on the importance of recognizing the essential unity in twinness, that abnormal splitting of a personality which must by every possible means be, as it were, restored when destroyed even by hostile and apparently paradoxical design, appears in many details of the behaviour towards twins besides the twin-figure contrivance. Twins, we find, must be treated exactly alike, receive the same gifts, be married at the same time, etc. An account of the life history of twins which reveals this attitude in many details and with the greatest clearness is one received from the Sobo Mosalo. It is in part as follows.

Twins are enthusiastically welcomed by the Sobo (Uzhobo) of Oyu. After a ceremony of thanksgiving at which a goat or sheep is sacrificed to the god Egyu, who sends twins as a double gift, the twins are presented to the community by the same *obbo* or priest who has performed the sacrifice and has prayed to Egyu that other women

¹ See the works already cited.

may be equally fruitful. All the villagers who are so disposed then bring or promise gifts to the mother. Twins must go through at the same time the various ceremonies, mutilations, etc., which accompany birth and arrival at puberty. If they are of different sexes, the boy must wait for circumcision, which is in other cases performed on the eighth day after birth, until his sister is ready for the corresponding operation which does not take place until she is considered to be of nubile age. When it is time for the children to be named, that is, when they are two or three years old, they are taken by the father to the chief, who summons the elders of the village, and the father in their presence pronounces the name which has been chosen and which must be the same for both children whether they are boys or girls.

Twins dress alike, which implies that if they are of opposite sexes the material of their clothes at least must be the same. They eat from the same dish, drink from the same cup, sleep in the same bed until they are married, if they are of the same sex; if not, in the same apartment. If they are males, they must marry sisters, or if sisters are not available in the family which is to provide their partners, these must be the most closely related girls available. The case is the same, *mutatis mutandis*, for twin sisters. In the case of brother-sister twins, the girl must marry the brother or the nearest available male relative of the girl whom her brother marries. The twins must live as neighbours, when married. If one of the twins now dies, the survivor is taken to the chief, who places him for a time under restraint lest in his grief he should commit suicide. When his grief, which is usually very violent, has in a measure abated, he goes home and takes his brother's widow to wife. Marriage is here polygamous. Everything is done to obliterate as far as possible too poignant memories of the deceased. The common cup of their infancy, which has been preserved, is now destroyed. The mourner moves to another house. If his grief continues so acute that the idea of taking his brother's widow is intolerable, both she and his own related wife are sent home to their own people. Often his own death follows shortly that of his brother, but at whatever interval this occurs both must be buried in the same grave. Sometimes the mourner goes mad with grief. In that case he is put to death—the usual fate of the insane.

A woman on the death of her twin brother leaves her husband and goes back to her own people. She should not marry again.

If twin sisters have married, according to custom, brothers (or cousins) and one sister dies, the survivor leaves her husband and returns to her own family. She should not marry again. If she elects to stay with her husband, she will be disowned by her own family. A man whose twin sister dies puts away his first wife but keeps the others. The latter is the rule also in the case of twin brothers, when a surviving twin sends away his own and his late brother's first wives. Only the first wives of twins need be sisters, or closely related. The other wives need not be related.

* * * * *

Two of the figures pictured here were taken from the graves of twins. Evidently then some Timne twin-figures are not only made as companions for the living who are bereaved of their twin brothers and sisters but serve also as memorials to or companions of the dead. The two in question are the boy with the hat of European type and the slenderer of the two figures representing girls. The latter are interesting not only for the sake of the twin customs which they recall but also as illustrations of costume, if we may so call what is so scant. The coiffures are both typical of Sierra Leone hairdressing for women, that of the girl wearing the four heavy rings representing necklaces being a simplified form of the type of coiffure commonly represented on the Bundu (women's secret society) masks. The other girl, to disguise her native charm, has only three widely spaced pairs of incisions about her neck to indicate neck rings. The lower part of the back of her head and the back of her neck show two areas of incised cross-hatching, which no doubt represent ornamental cicatrizations. The boy's face shows formal cicatrizations also and he wears three neck rings like those of the first girl. At the back of his head also is a rectangular area simply marked with chevrons. Probably the rings were put on his living prototype because the other twin in his family was a sister and wore the common feminine ornaments. The total absence of chin in two of these figures is characteristic of the art of the region. The pointed oval of the face, with the mouth in the natural position of such chin as the original might have been supposed to have, and the shortened appearance of the face proper are no doubt expressive of an admired racial type. It is well seen in the Bundu masks. The figure with the hat is $24\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height. The other figure from a grave is $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The remaining female figure, the most interesting æsthetically of these three rather crude productions, measures $23\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

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- November 17. Isles of the Southern Cross. Mr. Fred Payne Clatworthy.
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- December 8. The Last Home of Mystery. Col. E. Alexander Powell.
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- January 5. Under the Northern Lights. Captain Donald B. MacMillan.
- January 12. Greek and Roman Dances. Dr. Walton Brooks McDaniel.
- January 19. Exploring and Excavating in China. Mr. Carl W. Bishop.
- January 26. French North Africa. Dr. Michail M. Dorizas.
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- Saturday, March 16. The Excavations at Ur of the Chaldees and Their Relation to the Old Testament.
- Wednesday, March 20. The Romance of Excavation in the Near East.
- Saturday, March 23. The Ruins of Ur: the Splendour of the Prehistoric Kings; Ur in the Time of Abraham; the Last Days of the City.

PUBLIC COURSE

Sunday Afternoons, 3.30 o'clock

- November 4. A Visit to the Museum's Excavations in Palestine. Mrs. Loring Dam.
- November 11. New Records of Ancient Babylonia. Dr. Leon Legrain.
- November 18. French Cathedral Builders. Miss Elizabeth G. Creaghead.
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SCHOOL LECTURES

Wednesday Afternoons at 2.30 o'clock

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| September | 26. | The Crusades. |
| October | 3. | Greek Games. |
| October | 24. | A Trip to China and Japan. |
| October | 31. | A Trip to South America. |
| November | 7. | Indian Life. |
| November | 14. | The Great World of Africa. |
| November | 21. | Alaska. |
| February | 20. | Alaska. |
| February | 27. | The Crusades. |
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